SOUTHERN ACADEMIC REVIEW

Number 2

MONICA DAVIS
JOHN DEWITT
PAMELA FINK
BENTE FLATLAND
PAUL GARRISON
DAVID HIGGINBOTHAM
DONNA TOLLIVER

SOUTHERN ACADEMIC REVIEW

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Facing Life Without Illusions

by John DeWitt

As the penis-less character of *The Sun Also Rises*,[1] Jake
Barnes confronts a tough dilemma: how to define himself
as a man in relation to men and women, when not only is
he physically injured and unable to consummate his love
with a woman, but also psychologically wounded, lacking
the most concrete symbol of his manhood. But as the first-
person narrator of a modern novel, Jake faces a greater
challenge: how to see and present life honestly, with clarity
and without illusions, and thus find meaning in the modern
wasteland. In doing this, Ernest Hemingway's main charac-
ter of *The Sun Also Rises* is a recurring type in twentieth-
century literature, and his novel echoes a common modern
theme. Like Joyce, Woolf, and others, Hemingway faced
the modern novelist's problem: realizing the inadequacy
of nineteenth-century literary convention, how could one
examine life and humanity truthfully, in a modern world
deviod of truth?

The answer for the modernists was that to examine
honestly the modern world, the modern novel demanded a
different style to affect its different approach. Thus writ-
ers like Joyce and Woolf employed interior monologue and
stream of consciousness as their stylistic approach, strip-

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[1] Ernest Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* (New York: Charles Scrib-
ner's Sons, 1970).

ping away structured exterior accoutrements in their at-
tempt to reach the core of the human psyche and repre-
sent its immediate thought-responses to the exterior world.
Ernest Hemingway, however, approached the problem of
truthfulness in a different way. Rather than trying to en-
ter directly the human consciousness, Hemingway sought to
represent objectively that which gives emotional response,
the exterior world, and that which indicates thought and
emotions, the unimbellished words and actions of human
beings. Arthur Waldhorn, in *A Reader's Guide to Ernest
Hemingway*, says that Hemingway "strips away whatever
obscures the object that evokes feeling. No euphemisms
gloss the harsh, violent facts of reality."[2] In *The Sun Also
Rises*, the narrator, Jake Barnes, unflinchingly describes
the events of the world around him, in an attempt to see
honestly beyond the illusions of modern life and find pur-
pose for existence.

In Hemingway's short stories one finds a more direct
and explicitly philosophical definition of the modern world
in which his character's live, and how different people try
to cope. In them he presents with slight variation two re-
curring motifs of modern fiction—existential emptiness and
the human need for illusion.

In "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place," a very short but bril-
liant story centered around an old man and two watiers in
a Spanish cafe, Hemingway describes life as "Nada," noth-
ingness. A rich old man who has recently tried to commit
suicide sits in a pleasant cafe drinking brandy. While the
young waiter who has a wife wants to close the cafe and
go home, the older waiter sympathizes with the old man's
need for a pleasant and dignified place to drink: the man

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[2] Arthur Waldhorn, *A Reader's Guide to Ernest Hemingway* (New
York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1972), 32.

is alone and despairing, and the cafe and brandy and light offer a slight, if temporary respite from the emptiness of the night. This nothingness is hazy and difficult to define. After the cafe has been closed, the older waiter thinks:

> What did he fear? It was not fear or dread. It was nothing that he knew too well. It was all a nothing and a man was nothing too. It was only that and light was all it needed and a certain cleanness and order. Some lived in it and never felt it but he knew it was all nada y pues nada y nada y pues nada.[3]

In the short story "The Gambler, The Nun, and The Radio," Hemingway describes the opiates of the modern world, the things that maintain people's illusions and help them to cope with life. The story's action occurs in a hospital, where a writer recovering form a painful injury talks with a nun attendant, a gun-shot Mexican gambler, and some revolutionary musicians. All of the people in the story are like the gambler, who says, "I am a poor idealist. I am the victim of illusions."[4] The story ends with the writer's musings, which are stimulated by the Mexican revolutionaries, one of which comments that "Religion is the opium of the poor."[5] In an interior monologue the writer muses

> Religion is the opium of the poeple. . . . Yes, and music is the opium of the people. . . . And now economics is the opium of the people; along

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[3] Ernest Hemingway, "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place," in *The Snows of Kilimanjaro and Other Stories* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), 32.

[4] Ernest Hemingway, 'The Gambler, The Nun, and The Radio,' In *The Snows of Kilimanjaro and Other Stories* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), 50.

[5] *Ibid.*, 46.

with patriotism the opium of the people in Italy
and Germany. What about sexual intercourse; was
that an opium of the people? Of some of the people.
Of some of the best of the people. But drink was
the sovereign opium of the people, oh, an excellent
opium. . . . [6]

In his first novel, *The Sun Also Rises*, Hemingway
develops fully, but less didactically, these nada and opi-
ate motifs. The novel's first epitaph—Hemingway qoutes
Gertrude Stein as saying in conversation, "You are all a
lost generation"—fittingly describes its characters, and in-
dicates the life they lead. In the novel the characters drift
through the empty and amoral post-war social scene—first
dancing and drinking in Parisian bars, and later partying
at a Spanish fiesta. Hemingway shows through very sub-
tle narration and converstation that, under their guise of
gaiety, the characters all suffer. "Everybody's sick"[7] from
"that dirty war [which] was in reality a calamity for civiliza-
tion, and perhaps would have been better avoided."[8] Some
suffer as a direct result of World War I, though this is never
directly or fully stated: Brett's husband, a deranged British
war veteran, abuses her and sleeps with a loaded gun, and
she obviously has her own unstated war memories; the main
character, Jake, has lost his penis in the war, and is unable
to sleep at night without a light. The war is also the reason
for the frustrated love between Jake and Brett; because of
Jake's injury, they can not consummate their passion.

To compensate for their miserable lives, the charac-
ters of *The Sun Also Rises* lead lives of illusions. Though
they have given up religion, they use other opiates: Robert

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[6] *Ibid.*, 53.

[7] Hemingway, *Sun Also Rises*, 16.

[8] *Ibid.*, 17.

Cohn counteracts his feeling of Jewish inferiority with box-
ing ability and blind love; Brett Ashley uses her sexuality,
and has numerous unfulfilling affairs; and Jake persists in
his fruitless love of Brett.

Most of all, the characters in *The Sun Also Rises*
take that "sovereign opiate," drink. These people drink
incessantly—almost everyone in the novel (except for Cohn)
is a sot—creating the illusion of carefree fun and comradery.
Jake says that sometimes

> It was like certain dinners I remember from the war.
> There was much wine, an ignored tension. . . .
> Under the wine I lost the disgusted feeling and was
> happy. It seemed they were all such nice people.[9]

Unfortunately, drinking is like absinthe: "it has a good
uplift, but it drops you just as far."[10] Later in the novel,
drinking just accentuates the bad feelings of the characters:
Mike is a "bad drunk," and he taunts Cohn when he gets
"tight"; and drinking absinthe in Pamplona fails to keep
Jake from saying repeatedly, "I feel like hell."[11]

Though the world of *The Sun Also Rises* is a pathetic
place, the full emotional force of the story does not de-
pend on *what* Hemingway describes, but *how* he describes
it. Hemingway employs first-person narration to show the
courage of Jake Barnes, who must see through the illusions
of modern life and objectively describe the painful world
around him. "In this narration," says Arthur Waldhorn,
"we are privy to what the hero sees and does, rarely to a
direct statement of what he feels. What Hemingway de-
scribes . . . is not an emotion . . . but its objective

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9   *Ibid.*, 146.
10   *Ibid.*, 15.
11   *Ibid.*, 222-23.

correlatives."[12] This narration conveys great emotion, how-ever, because even though "Hemingway's characters dare not fully release their feelings, their unemphatic language communicates feeling without having to define it too explicitly."[13]

This task of describing life honestly, objectively, requires tremendous emotional courage and control. That is why, as Waldhorn says, "The true center of Hemingway's literary style—like his heroe's lifestyle—is discipline, [for] a writer must maintain an 'absolute conscience . . . to prevent faking.'"[14] Jake's task is so tremendous because, says Waldhorn, his "wound might easily tempt him to cynicism or self-pity." However, continues Waldhorn,

> Neither suborns his scrupulous objectivity in reporting. As Jake's wound sets him apart from those whose restive lives he must report, it compels him to establish some distance from himself as well. Only so can he learn to live with both the wound and the world. To help control and discipline his emotions, he strives for the detachment that objective reporting allows.[15]

It is this emotional detachment which allows Jake to describe the obviously painful and ironic scenes, like the discussions about steers, which are full of comments like "Must be swell being a steer."[16] The obvious implication, especially when Mike goads Robert Cohn about "follow[ing] Brett around like a bloody steer,"[17] is that not only is Jake

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[12] Waldhorn, 33.

[13] *Ibid, 35.*

[14] *Ibid., 31.*

[15] *Ibid., 95.*

[16] Hemingway, *Sun Also Rises*, 133.

[17] *Ibid., 142.*

physically altered like a steer, but he also has been following Brett around.

Occasionally the narration of *The Sun Also Rises* chan ges to a style remarkably similar to Joyce's or Woolf's, indicating how surprisingly close their methods and purposes can be. This happens, as Waldhorn describes,

> When on occasion, the emotional strain is too great, Hemingway shifts the setting to the privacy of Jake's bedroom and lets him release his subjective feelings through an interior monologue. Those rare but unforgettable passages of introspection in no way diminish Jake's reliability as a narrator. Rather, they provide a necessary, humanizing glimpse into the heart of his darkness (where also resides the thematic center of the novel) and accent his awesome task of adjustment.[18]

This is only, however, a recording of the main character's thoughts at that place and period of time; the narrator never intrudes with present-tense moralizations.

Here it is important to distinguish the differenc between Jake as a narrator and Jake as an active main character. Jake narrates "as if after a time lapse";[19] thus the story he relates is that of his gradual maturation to his present state of objectivity. In this maturing process, Jake learns to reject opiates because of their futility. He learns the emptiness of drinking and the social scene, and more importantly, he learns to accept the futility of his love for Brett. Early in the novel, he wants her to move in with him or spend time in the country with him, and in his anguish he even cries. But by the end of the novel, when Brett says, "Oh, Jake . . . we could have had such a damned good time together," Jake

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[18] Waldhorn, 95.

[19] *Ibid.,* 116.

is able to respond ironically, "Yes. Isn't it pretty to think
so."[20] Waldhorn says that "The ironic force of *pretty*—a
determined rejection of the last shred of illusion—is Jake's
payment in full for his bill of manhood."[21]

By the end of *The Sun Also Rises*, Jake has learned
through his experience to face life with courage and accep-
tance. In this way, he is like such idealized heroic figures in
the novel as Count Mippipolous, who says, "it is because
I have lived very much that now I can enjoy everything so
well";[22] and like the bullfighter Romero—when he fought
the bulls, "There were no tricks and no mystifications."[23]
Jake finds pleasure and meaning in the concrete things of
life, particularly in the out-of-doors, as indicated by the
idyllic nature of the fishing trip with Bill, and by the tran-
quility of his short solitary trip to San Sabastian after the
disastrous fiesta. Like the count, who says that "you must
get to know the values,"[24] Jake realizes that "You paid some
way for everything that was any good."[25]

This new approach to life may seem to be rather nihilis-
tic and narcissistic at first thought. However, Hemingway
carefully shows that his heroes (Mippipopolous, Romero,
and Jake) are far from being unkind, selfish people. Rather,
it is in facing the *nada* of life with courage and dignity that
they gain the passion to live life to its fullest. This is Jake
Barne's triumph:

> Nothing can restore what has maimed him physi-
> cally. But psychologically, he has bartered reason-

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[20] Hemingway, *Sun Also Rises*, 247.
[21] Waldhorn, 111.
[22] Hemingway, *Sun Also Rises*, 60.
[23] *Ibid.,* 220-21.
[24] *Ibid.,* 60.
[25] *Ibid.,* 148.

ably well. He has traded off false hope and empty illusion and salvaged integrity, discipline, and control. Scarcely a "simple exchange of values," it might, in a market-place where moral bankruptsy destroys most traders, be accounted a margin of profit.[26]

Thus, because the narrator of *The Sun Also Rises* has surmounted the difficulties of life without illusions, he is able to fulfill his difficult task of narrating with objectivity—which for Hemingway is the closest one can come to truthfulness in the modern wasteland—and he takes his place with Stephen Dedalus, Clarissa Dalloway, and others as a courageous, sympathetic, and life-affirming figure of modern fiction.

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[26] Waldhorn, 112.

THE MYTH OF WOMEN'S MASOCHISM

by Paul Garrison

T HE TERM "MASOCHISM" implies both the derivation of plea-
sure from painful experieces and the infliction of suffer-
ing, either consciously or unconsciously, upon oneself. The
once-vague concept of masochism has evolved into a set
of well-defined criteria. These criteria are grouped under
self-defeating personality disorders and are proposed for in-
clusion in future updates in the *Diagnostic and Statistical
Manual of Mental Disorders, DSM,* of the American Psychi-
atric Association. I will argue that throughout the history
of psychoanalysis the concept of masochism has been mis-
applied to many female behaviors which result in suffering.
This is due to the historical misconception that an innate
"inclination to voluntary subordination" exists in women.[1]
Rather than having any greater capacity to derive pleasure
from suffering than do men, certain biological and societal
influences have made suffering more common to the female
existence. This situation results neither from choice nor de-
sire on the part of women. Normal, healthy human needs
are a common denominator in the willingness of women
to endure suffering. However, the historical confusion of
femininity and masochism has often resulted in the misin-
terpretation of such women's behavior as the manifestation

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[1] R. von Kraft-Ebing, *Psychopathia sexualis* (Chicago: Login Broth-
ers, 1906): 196.

of a need to suffer.[2] Because of such misinterpretations, it is necessary to form an understanding of the factors that perpetuate the subjugation of women to suffering. In addition, the inclusion of the self-defeating personality disorder in the *DSM* should be halted, as this label could be misapplied to blame women for their own suffering.

The term "masochism" was first described by Kraft-Ebing, who derived the term from the name of the French novelist, Sacher-Masoch,[3] the writings of the latter being replete with descriptions of sexual fantasies involving bondage and flagellation from which the participants derived intense sexual gratification. In his *Psychopathia Sexualis*, Kraft-Ebing defined masochism as "the wish to suffer pain and be subjected to force; . . . [the masochist] creates situations of this kind, and often attempts to realize them."[4] Kraft-Ebing went further to state that "for the masochist the princple thing is subjection . . . ; the punishment is only the expression of this relation."[5] Kraft-Ebing noted that women played a predominantly passive role in society and proposed that women have "an instinctive inclination to voluntary subordination to man,"[6] masochism in women being "a normal manifestation."[7] In contrast, he regarded masochistic behavior in men as "an abnormal intensification of certain features of the psycho-sexual char-

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[2] P. J. Caplan, "The Myth of Women's Masochism," *American Psychologist* 39, no. 2 (1984).

[3] G. Deleuze, *Masochism: An Interpretation of Coldness and Cruelty*, translated by J. McNeil and originally published 1967 (New York: George Braziller, 1971).

[4] Kraft-Ebing, 131.

[5] *Ibid.*, 141.

[6] *Ibid.*, 195.

[7] *Ibid.*, 196.

acter of woman."[8]

Subsequent to Kraft-Ebing's formulation, Freud further equated femininity and masochism, writing that masochistic fantasies place the masochist in a "characteristically feminine situation: they signify, that is, being castrated, or copulated with, or giving birth to a baby."[9] Thus femininity and masochism were presented early in psychoanalytic theory as equivalents. Perhaps one of the most blantant pairings of femininity and masochism came from the respected female psychoanalyst, Helene Deutsch. In her *Psychology of Women*, she listed as one of the "fundamental elements of [women's] psychologic structure . . . a passive-masochistic character."[10] Caplan notes that a relative shortage of new contributions to psychoanalytic theory with regard to the psychosexual development of females, coupled with the persistent confusion of female suffering as manifestations of innate masochistic tendencies, has perpetuated what Miller called "the psychoanalytic belief that woman is masochistic by nature."[11]

The key point of the previous discussion is that "masochism, or the acceptance of pain, is seen as truly feminine."[12] Taking this point together with the above definition of masochism, one can see how it has often been the case that a distraught female seeking psychotherapy has been too easily dismissed as "masochistic," the cause of her own problems. Allen, in his Textbook of Psychosex-

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[8] *Ibid.,* 196.

[9] S. Freud, cited in Caplan, 132.

[10] H. Deutsch, *The Psychology of Women* (New York: Grune and Stratton, 1944): 191.

[11] J. B. Miller, cited in Caplan, 1984, 132.

[12] J. M. Bardwick, *Psychology of Women: A Study of Biocultural Conflicts* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 7.

ual Disorders, states that in males, masochism is a "neurosis that occurs periodically whereas *in the woman it is a way of life*.[13] Miller states that "despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, the notion persists that women are [masochists]," being perpetuated by a "dominant group [which], inevitably, has the greatest influence on determining a culture's overall outlook" by defining the acceptable roles of the subordinate group.[14] The opponents of the proposed self-defeating personality disorder think that many practicing clinicians continue to accept the notion of innate feminine masochism.

As mentioned previously, the concept of masochism has evolved since its earliest formulation, and there now exists a proposed diagnosis called the "self-defeating personality disorder." The initial proposal·was called the "masochistic personality," but the term was changed to "self-defeating" when the American Psychiatric Association agreed that the word "masochistic" still carried too many popular and historical connotations to be of much use.[15] The following are the eight diagnostic criteria of the self-defeating personality disorder:[16]

1. Chooses and remains in situations that lead to disappointment, failure, and mistreatment, despite the availability of better options.
2. Engages in excessively self-sacrificing behavior

[13] C. Allen, *A Textbook of Psychosexual Disorders* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969): 165.

[14] Miller, 8.

[15] D. Franklin, "The Politics of Masochism," *Psychology Today* 21, no. 1 (1987): 52-57.

[16] F. Kass, R. A. Mackinnon, and R. L. Spitzer, "Masochistic Personality: An Empirical Study," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 143, no. 2 (1986): 216-218.

    that is unsolicited or discouraged by the in-
    tended recipients.

3. Rejects help, gifts, or favors offered by others.

4. Provokes the hostility of others, subsequently
feeling mistreated, defeated, and humiliated.

5. Responds to success and other positive personal
events with depression, guilt, or behavior that
results in pain.

6. Turns down opportunities for pleasure, is reluc-
tant to admit to enjoying himself or herself,
and emphasizes only the worst aspects of a sit-
uation.

7. Is uninterested in persons who consistently treat
him or her well.

8. Fails to accomplish personal objectives despite
adequate ability to succeed.

Two important points should be made with regard to
the preceding list of criteria. First, the intentional under-
mining of one's own happiness and success is inferred for
behaviors that match these diagnostic criteria: that is, a
person displaying these behaviors is still seen as responsi-
ble for his or her own suffering. Second, some women dis-
playing these behaviors are neither enjoying, nor in control
of, their suffering. It must be noted, however, that many
contemporary theorists have released a barrage of writings
which both refute a feminine penchant for painful experi-
ences and propose reasonable explanations of external de-
terminants of the frequent subjection of women to suffering.
It is is to these contemporary theorists to whom one turns,
with the hope of better understanding why the behavior of
many women is often misinterpreted as masochistic.

    Casting aside the notion of an innate feminine pro-
clivity towards self-defeating behavior, one may begin the

search for factors which have, throughout history, cast
women into a role of subordination by looking at anatomi-
cal/physiological features of the female body. The concept
of feminine masochism has historical roots in two particu-
lar biological characteristics of women: their lesser physical
strength and their reproductive function. When the sur-
vival of human beings depended solely upon hunting abil-
ities, the physically stronger members of society, the men,
were necessarily depended upon for the provision of food
and for the general protection of the women and children.
Equally important is the fact that, until certain technolog-
ical advances, women throughout history have been unable
control their rate of pregnancy. Thus, prior to the indus-
trialization of society and the advent of effective contra-
ceptives, women were bound to the home, powerless and
dependent upon males as providers.[17] Shainess calls the
development of the contraceptive "the greatest liberating
force for women in our time."[18] It is important to note
here that women, who may have been quite unhappy with
their situations, and even mistreated or abused, were of-
ten unable to take steps toward changing their situations.
Far from enjoying subordination, these women were simply
locked into their positions.

The above observations provide insight into the histor-
ical roots of the subordination of women in society. They
represent an analogy to the cultural pressures which con-
tinue to trap women in positions of subordination and suf-
fering, suffering that they have often accepted, but from
which they derive no pleasure. In exploring the impact of
societal influences on the frequent manifestations of seem-

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[17] N. Shainess, *Sweet Suffering: Women As Victim* (New York:
Bobbs-Merrill, 1984).

[18] *Ibid.*, 33.

ingly masochistic behavior in women, one needs to look at
three different directions in which modern theorists search
for the causal elements of feminine "masochism." The first
group of theorists proposes that masochistic behaviors are
maintained by a woman's fear of the social disapproval that
she incurrs when her behavior does not conform to the dom-
inant view of the feminine stereotype. A second group notes
that low self-esteem often results from internalization of the
idea of female inferiority, and points to problems in self-
esteem as perpetuating feminine subordination. The final
theory indicates that feelings of powerlessness, derived both
from childhood and adulthood experiences, often prevent
women from achieving success and autonomy.

When Kraft-Ebing took note of the "passive role [of fe-
males] in . . . long-existent social conditions," he concluded
that "in woman voluntary subjection to the opposite sex is a
physiological phenomenon."[19] More modern theorists have
recognized that the pathology lies within the dominant so-
cial outlook of society, rather than within the psychological
structure of women.[20] Socialization of gender-roles begins
very early in the life of a child, and consists of the reinforce-
ment of behaviors and ideas in children that are consistent
with a society's notions of propriety. Internalization of so-
ciety's values represents the culmination of the socialization
process, the end result being the incorporation of societal
norms into one's own framework of values. Internalization
of gender-role stereotypes is a more restrictive sort of social-
ization, often in which the values accepted by the individual
consist of "the narrowest, most rigid interpretations . . .
of what of 'fitting' behavior [is] for a man or woman."[21]

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[19] Kraft-Ebing, 195
[20] Miller.
[21] Shainess, 24.

Social learning theorists argue that the reinforcement of behaviors consistent with one's gender role, and the discouragement (and punishment) of inappropriate sex role behaviors, will maintain behavior appropriate to one's sex role. "The world smiles favorably on the feminine woman; . . . to be insufficiently feminine is viewed as a failure in core sexual identity,"[22] and the woman deviating from her gender role often experiences guilt, as well as runs the risk of social disapproval, perhaps even ostracism. Society has fostered the stereotype of women as being less competent, less aggressive, more emotional, more dependent, more in need of security, endlessly self-sacrificing,[23] endlessly nuturant, of boundless patience,[24] submissive to authority, and suppressive of "angry or aggressive reactions in favor of peace-keeping maneuvers or persuasion."[25] Of interest, here, is a cross cultural study of sex differences in socialization by Barry, Bacon, and Child, in which there was found, across 110 cultures, "a widespread pattern of greater pressure toward nurturance, obedience, and responsibility in girls, [as opposed to pressure] toward self-reliance and achievement striving in boys."[26] Thus the woman who works to succeed in being feminine, longing for the rewards

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[22] S. Brownmiller, "The Myth of Women's Masochism," *American Psychologist* 39, no. 2 (1984): 15.

[23] I. H. Friexe et al., *Women and Sex Roles: A Social Psychological Perspective* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co.), 1978

[24] J. Bernard, *The Female World* (New York: The Free Press, 1981.

[25] L. E. Walker and A. Browne, "Gender and Victimization by Intimates," *Journal of Personality* 53, no. 2 (1985): 180.

[26] H. Barry, M. K. Bacon, and I. L. Child, "A Cross-Cultural Survey of Some Sex Differences in Socialization," in J. M. Hardwick, ed., *Readings on the Psychology of Women* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), 209.

to acceptance and approval, must accept many restrictions
and limit her sights. If a woman feels discord in fulfilling
society's ideal of femininity, or if she loses acceptance for
failing to fulfill the stereotype's demands, she may come
to see femininity as a "desperate strategy of appeasement
. . . she may not have the courage to abandon, for failure
looms in either direction."[27] Thus many women conform
to a stereotypically feminine role, and accept the various
kinds of suffering which often accompany the role of woman
in society, "behavior that has been called masochistic [but
which] is learned within a culture that values [self-defeating]
behavior in women."[28] Blum recognized that "differences
between male and female superego systems are related to .
. . cultural and developmental factors,"[29] a value structure
which is formed during internalization of the cultural ideal
of femininity, and which is enforced by a strong superego.
Blum saw the endurance of suffering by females as the ful-
fillment of the "female ego ideal,"[30] a value structure which
is formed during internalization of the cultural ideal of fem-
ininity, and which is enforced by a strong superego. Blum
did not regard the endurance of suffering as a necessarily
pathological manifestation, and saw "no evidence that the
human female has a greater endowment to derive pleasure
from pain."[31] Rather, he saw the female superego, in its

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[27] Brownmiller, 16.

[28] A. Grossman-McKee and S. W. Russ, "The Persisting Concept of
Masochism in Women," *American Psychologist* 40, no. 5 (1985).

[29] H. P. Blum, "Masochism, the Ego Ideal, and the Psychology of
Women," in H. P. Blum, ed., *Female Psychology: Contemporary Psy-
choanalytic Views* (New York: International Universities Press, 1977),
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[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid.,* 187.

incorporation of societal ideals, as a crucial determinant of the feminine character.

Work on the motivation to avoid success[32] is particularly illuminating in discussions of one's reluctance to deviate from one's sex role stereotype. Built on the framework of the expectancy-value theory of motivation, Horner's experiments illustrated how an internalized conception of the feminine sex role stereotype can inhibit performance in certain situations. Because achievement, competence, and competition are characteristics inconsistent with the dominant feminine stereotype, many females may expect disapproval for displaying such qualities. Horner posited that "the expectancy that success in achievement-related situations will be followed by negative consequences arouses fear of success in . . . women which the inhibits their performance and levels of aspiration."[33] Horner's theory has been supported by experimentation, and illustrates how societal pressures can precipitate a "masochistic" behavior: failure to achieve an objective, despite having the capability to succeed.

Other theorists go a step further. Rather than viewing compliance with one's internalized gender-role identity as the key to understanding "masochistic" behavior in women, some psychologists connect the endurance of suffering to problems in self-esteem. As Horney pointed out, society often blocks women's outlets for personal growth by restricting their experience to certain "female" spheres of life, such as the family, church, and charity work. Stolorow and Lachmann argued that many behaviors mislabelled as masochis-

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[32] M. S. Horner, "Toward an Understanding of Achievement Related Conflicts in Women," *Journal of Social Issues* 28, no. 2 (1972): 157-175.

[33] *Ibid.,* 157.

tic are an individual's attempts to restore her sense of self in the face of such cultural pressures which thwart autonomy and individuation. Our culture tends to view women as inferior, as weak and helpless, and encourages their economic and emotional dependence on men. It is easy to see how many women raised in such a society would have a sense of low self-esteem, and Horney proposed two reasons for the edurance of suffering by women, both based on lowered self- esteem.

First, Horney stated that, for a person with feelings of low self-worth, "being loved is [a] particular means of reassurance"[34] of that persons's worth. When such a person enters into a relationship with another, she "tends to overvalue it and clings to the illusion that it holds the solution of all life's problems."[35] When a woman is seen to maintain a relationship in which she suffers periodically, whether from physical and/or psychological abuse, her behavior is often labelled "masochistic," and such a label is consistent with the criteria of the proposed self-defeating personality disorder. Complementing this theory is Miller's concept of the "relational ego," which she proposes develops as the result of socialized values, creating in women a dependency on personal relationships as a source of self-esteem.

Recognizing that not all women endure the hardships of a relationship in order to boost their self-esteem by feeling loved, Horney proposed an alternative reason for the endurance of suffering by some women. Due to the dominant social outlook, some women believe so firmly in their inferiority that they view punishment and suffering as their

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[34] K. Horney, *Feminine Psychology* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1967), 227.
[35] *Ibid.*

due.[36] Horney observed, in this sort of person, "an obsti-
nate tendency . . . to provoke attacks, to feel ruined,
damaged, ill-treated, humiliated."[37] Any person observing
this behavior would readily classify it as masochistic, but
to do so would represent an injustice. For rather than hav-
ing an innate desire to inflict suffering upon herself, such a
woman is merely reacting to a devalued self-image fostered
in her by the culture in which she lives.

Horney further proposed that applying the label of
"masochistic" to behaviors such as those above is a misap-
plication of the term in its popular sense, meaning "plea-
sure from pain." In what is often called masochistic be-
havior, Horney said, "there is some gratification or relief
of tension connected with it, and that is why it is striven
for,"[38] but pain and suffering are not the reasons these
so-called "masochists" indulge in self-defeating behavior.
Rather, they seek relief from disapproval, elevation of their
self-esteem, or treatment consistent with their sense of self-
worth.

More evidence of how a lowered sense of self-esteem can
exacerbate a pattern of self-defeating behavior in women
comes from Carol Dweck's research on attribution styles.
Dweck found a tendency among tachers to emphasize intel-
lectual inadequacies when criticizing the shortcomings of fe-
male students, creating in girls a tendency to attribute their
failures to a lack of competence. Dweck proposed that the
perceived lack of ability in females so treated undermines
their future persistence at achievement-oriented tasks, and
experiments supported her hypothesis. Once again, how-
ever, this is an external determinant of self-defeating be-

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[36] Shainess.

[37] Horney, 228.

[38] *Ibid.,* 226.

havior, and of the suffering incurred thereby.

As mentioned previously, feelings of powerlessness represent a third factor which induces women to behave in manners that could be misinterpreted as masochistic. Timidity in the face of authority can have origins in infancy, according to Harry Stack Sullivan,[39] who proposed that only a properly nurturant mother will raise a child who is trustful of others, and not fearful of authority. During infancy, the potential for abuse and exploitation by more powerful persons is extremely high, and, as Shainess said, "if the ability to trust in childhood is impaired, the sense of powerlessness and vulnerability is exacerbated, and some of the seeds of masochism are sown."[40] And during the socialization of the ideals of feminine submissiveness and selflessness, a higher number of female children, as opposed to males, experience exploitation and the infusion of a sense of powerlessness.[41] Not only in childhood does the female develop a sense of powerlessness, as many women are imbued with such feelings from living in a world in which the power is heavily distributed toward males. Both feelings of impotence and the learning through socialization that propitious feminine behavior includes submission to authority combine to produce many self-defeating behaviors in women. The most common of these are intances of aparently willful subordination to authority and remaining in situations of suffering despite alternatives.

Perhaps Seligman's work on learned helplessness is the most illuminating viewpoint that can be touched upon at this point. Seligman has demonstrated that the recognition that one is completely powerless to alter an adverse

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[39] Cited in Shainess.

[40] *Ibid.*, 21.

[41] Shainess.

situation will produce a deficit, often irreversible, in future
attempts to escape similar adverse situations. An early
experience of the inability to effectively alleviate suffering
will produce deficits in future learning that one is capa-
ble of changing adverse situations by one's own responses,
despite positive proof. Thus, Seligman's model of learned
helplessness can be invoked to explain some aspects of the
attribution process: when an individual perceives that he
or she is powerless to accomplish certain tasks, future con-
frontations with similar tasks will be approached with little
optimism of success. Seligman's model predicts that experi-
ences of powerlessness in unpleasant situations—especially
when attributed to internal, stable, and global qualities—
will create in an individual a stoic tolerance of suffering and
apathy towards alleviating situations in which pain exists.
When an abused wife is known to endure physical violence
at the hands of her husband and to make no effort to change
her plight, her behavior may be labelled as masochistic. In-
voking Seligman's model of learned helplessness, however,
one can see that a suffering female's feelings of powerless-
ness may prevent her from taking the action necessary to
alleviate her pain. She does not enjoy the suffering, nor
does she invite abuse upon herself, she simply does not be-
lieve her power to stop the pain.

Beiber views acquiescence to the demands of author-
ity figures as a means of avoiding hostility.[42] Similarly,
the uncomplaining tolerance of abuse is seen as a defense
against the escalation of violence. Walker pointed out that
"women, who are socialized to adapt amd submit, may not
develop adequate self-protection skills"[43] which makes them
more vulnerable to physical and sexual abuse. There is no

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[42] Cited in Shainess.
[43] Walker, 179.

pathological need to suffer present in these victims. A more likely explanation comes from the lessons of socialization, where females learn to submit, to acquiesce, and to make every effort to maintain the harmony of interpersonal relationships.

The mistaken notion that women have a predisposition to the enjoyment of pain is influenced by biological and cultural conditions which have, historically, trapped women in position of suffering. Specifically, many women within our society have been put into positions of economic and emotional dependence upon men, and have had their opportunities to achieve autonomy and individuation severly restricted. The mistake has been in confusing their acceptance of a position of subordination—and the suffering incurred therein—with an innate capacity to derive pleasure from pain. This mistaken notion of natural masochism in women does them a profound disservice. The proposed "self-defeating personality" disorder could bring with it the historicl connection of women and masochism, and its introduction would represent a great potential for misapplication of the diagnosis, as many suffering women could be blamed as the cause of their own problems.[44]

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[44] Grossman-McKee.

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"JUST THE FACTS, MA'AM?"

by Bente Flatland

FOR THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY INDIVIDUAL, the word *science* typically brings to mind slightly eccentric intellectuals engaged in painstaking empiricism or computerized analyses. Or, perhaps, *science* brings to mind the results of such analyses: convenient technology, medical innovations, or seemingly miraculous predictions in a variety of fields. Rarely, however, does the word *science* bring to mind universal human values or an objective moral reality—such concepts are in the realm of philosophy, having no place in science due to their subjective and empirically impractical nature.

Science is defined by most people as an objective methodology, a belief reflected in the colloquialism, "He has it down to a science." The view of science as an objective methodology is, however, relatively new. For centuries, science was intimately associated with philosophy, with questions of values, morals, and what constitutes a good society. Yet, while some revel in the "objectivity" and straightforwardness of today's science, there are others who deplore limiting the definition of science to mere methodology, and who feel greater benefits could be derived from science by reestablishing its link with philosophy.

Two individuals who favor such a return to philosophical science (or scientific philosophy) are the political thinkers Eric Voegelin and Leo Strauss. Both men carefully

draw a distinction between the natural sciences and the social sciences and argue that, in emulating the empiricism of the natural sciences, the social sciences (specifically, political science) have degenerated and risk becoming trivial and irrelevant. To restore relevance, Voegelin and Strauss argue, a philosophical component must be reintroduced to political science.

In their arguments, both Voegelin and Strauss discuss two distinctions regarding the supposed dichotomy between the objective and the subjective. The first of these distinctions is the positive/normative distinction: positive statements refer to an "is," an objectively observable, current situation. Normative statements refer to an "ought," or a situation which should be. Unlike positive statements, normative statements imply a value-judgement and are thus subjective. The twentieth-century distinction between science and philosophy, of course, relegates the positive to science and the normative to philosophy. The second distinction, the fact/value distinction, is a corollary of the positive/normative distinction and states that facts are objective while values are subjective.

In his introduction to *The New Science of Politics*, Voegelin rejects the fact/value distinction and argues that the positive and the normative should be united in science. Voegelin views science not as a *method*, but rather as a search for truth which utilizes multiple methods. Furthermore, a valid method for Voegelin is one which advances understanding—such a method can consist of empiricism, introspection, or a study of history, among other things. Voegelin states that in the search for truth,

> Facts are relevant in so far as their knowledge contributes to the study of essence, while methods are adequate in so far as they can be effectively used

as a means for this end. Different objects require different methods.[1]

Thus, Voegelin's concept of science is much broader than the modern view of science as empirical methodology.

Voeglin argues if methodology is the criterion for what constitutes the "scientific," then social science dooms itself to trivialities. He says,

> All propositions concerning facts will be promoted to the dignity of science, regardless of their relevance, as long as they result from a correct use of method.[2]

This situation can easily lead to the "fantastic accumulation of irrelevant knowledge."[3] Social science thus loses track of important normative considerations such as values, the moral nature of people, and the nature of the good society.

For Leo Strauss, the positive/normative and fact/value distinctions are also important in understanding the nature of social science. In "The New Political Science," Strauss explains that according to the "old" political science, which embraces philosophy, there are certain universal values which humans should espouse in order to achieve a "properly-ordered soul" and a good society. The "old" political science makes value-judgements regarding the good of society and reserves the right to impose certain values over others, believing those values to be "higher" than others.

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[1] Eric Voegelin, *The New Science of Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 5.

[2] *Ibid.*, 8.

[3] *Ibid.*

The "new" political science, in contrast, aspires to the empiricism of the natural sciences and struggles to define itself entirely in terms of a methodology. The "new" political science turns its back on values, arguing that they are subjective and thus not true scientific knowledge. Strauss points out,

> Whereas acting man has necessarily chosen values, the new political scientist as pure spectator is not committed to any value. . . . The discovery of the difference between facts and values amounts therefore to a refutation of the traditional value systems as originally meant.[4]

In adopting the positive/normative and the fact/value distinctions, the "new" political science assumes a position of moral relativism: one cannot judge whether one value is universally or transcendentally superior to another. "Goodness" and "badness" are themselves value-judgements, thus subjective, and cannot be discussed as matters of reason and experience.

Strauss criticizes the "new" political science for its valuelessness and moral relativism, arguing that it is in danger of becoming trivial. He remarks,

> The new political science lacks orientation regarding political things; it has no protection whatever, except by surreptitious recourse to common sense, against losing itself in the study of irrelevancies.[5]

Strauss further argues that the "new" political science's attempt at objectivity and moral neutrality has condemned

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[4] Leo Strauss, "The New Political Science," in H. J. Storing, ed., *Essays on the Scientific Study of Politics* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1962), 423.

[5] *Ibid.,* 415.

its language to "unredeemable vagueness," making the discipline woefully sterile.[6]

As the "new" political science, in its search for empirical purity, widens the gap between political science and philosophy, the "old" political science falls into disrepute. Stauss notes,

> Serious criticism of the old political science is a waste of time; for we know in advance that it could only have been a pseudo science, although perhaps including a few remarkably shrewd hunches.[7]

Like Voegelin, Strauss believes that social scientists should take the philosophical component of political thinking seriously and reintroduce a moral dimension to political science. He believes that scientists ought to think critically and rationally about what constitutes the good society and about the best way to achieve this society.

Voegelin and Strauss, then, question the relevance of modern social science to any legitimate study of the human condition, arguing that social sciences in their present state, striving for pure objectivity and empiricism and thus accumulating trivial data, are ceasing to offer any information of value. In order to offer valuable information, the social sciences must stop revering methodology and embrace more than mere empiricism, concerning themselves with normative questions and universal human values.

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[6] Strauss, 419.

[7] *Ibid.*, 408.

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LEADERSHIP BIRMINGHAM

by Monica Davis, Bente Flatland,
and Donna Tolliver

LEADERSHIP BIRMINGHAM is a program designed to cultivate leadership skills by bringing together a cross-section of Birmingham leaders. Based on a survey of Leadership Birmingham alumni as well as other community leaders, conclusions may be drawn about the organization's impact. Since participation in Leadership Birmingham exposes community leaders to local issues in a formalized manner, one can reasonably suspect that a socialization process is at work. Hence, we hypothesized that membership in the program produces a consensus of opinion on local issues among those participants.

Research into the effect of group membership on opinions supports the plausibility of this hypothesis. Early studies of the socialization process, the "inculcation and transmission of attitudes,"[1] emphasize the polarizing effect of membership on group attitudes. In this sense, polarization refers to the unification of group members' opinions, distinguishing these opinions from those of non-group members. In a 1969 study, S. Moscovici and M. Zavalloni demonstrated that group discussion leads to a unification

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[1] W. M. Sukel, "Assessing Adults' Socialization: Attitudes of Top, Middle, and Supervisory Managers," *Psychological Reports* 52 (1983): 735.

of opinions which is greater if the issue requires a specific commitment rather than a broad judgment. This polarization toward a single group attitude is more enduring when a specific commitment is involved. Furthermore, polarization is more pronounced when a greater initial difference among the members' opinions and judgments existed. It is important to note that majority influence is not the cause of consensus; instead, group interaction is the major factor.[2]

The effect of membership on individual opinions is the most interesting point of this study: ". . . the opinions and judgments expressed by the group consensus will often be adopted by the individuals as their personal opinions."[3] Consequently, then, these individuals leave the group with concrete attitude changes.[4]

Another early study, performed by William Doise, studied the effects of intergroup relationships on the attitudes of both the group and its individual members. When a group is confronted with the opinion of an alleged rival group, his study indicated that unification of opinion within the original group becomes even more pronounced. This polarization affects both individual and group consensus levels; further, individual opinions tend toward extremist positions in response to the rival opinion.[5] This study has possible ramifications for the long-term effects of Leadership Birmingham, for each time the program's members are presented with opinions on controversial issues, they should tend to-

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[2] S. Moscovici and M. Zavalloni, "The Group as a Polarizer of Attitudes," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 12 (1969): 134.

[3] *Ibid.,* 134.

[4] *Ibid.,* 134.

[5] W. Doise, "Intergroup Relations and Polarization of Individual and Collective Judgments," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 12 (169): 143.

ward a similar view. This recurring polarization should maintain the socialization process.

A decade later, Vinokur and Burnstein explored polarization by studying subgroups with conflicting initial opinions. They emphasized traditional polarization effects, further claiming that subgroups are willing to compromise in order to reach a collective group position—a simultaneous polarizing and depolarizing effect.[6] In other words, individual members are willing to modify their personal opinions (depolarize) in order to strengthen the group position (polarize).

In a recent study, Mackie and Cooper pointed out that during discussion members' opinions shift toward what was the majority opinion before the discussion. However, this position does not merely reflect the majority opinion; rather, it moves beyond it to a more extreme position.[7] In addition, members within a group see this collective opinion as more extreme than outsiders view it to be. [8] Mackie and Cooper also found that "group membership mediated the effect of information in producing the polarization effect";[9] that is, group dynamics plays a greater role in reaching a collective opinion than does outside factual information. An obvious group factor is membership itself; a second is the homogeneity of the group[10]—the more homogeneous the group, the more easily a collective opinion is reached.

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[6] A. Vinokur and E. Burnstein, "Depolarization of Attitudes in Groups," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 36 (1978): 884.

[7] D. Mackie and J. Cooper, "Attitude Polarization: Effects of Group Membership," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 46 (1984): 575.

[8] *Ibid.*, 583.

[9] *Ibid.*, 583.

[10] *Ibid.*, 580.

In another recent study exploring consensus of opinion among managers, W.M. Sukel found that managers play a key role in socializing subordinates;[11] "It is plausible that subordinates, aware of desirable or preferred organizational attitudes, emulate their superiors. . . . "[12] Perhaps Leadership Birmingham has a greater effect than suspected; its attitudes may be adopted in the community through the influence of its participants on their subordinates.

It is clear that previous research on the socializing effects of group membership shows a strong correlation between membership and a polarization of attitudes, supporting the hypothesis that participation in Leadership Birmingham leads to a consensus of opinion among its members.

METHODOLOGY

In an attempt to study the effects of Leadership Birmingham on its members, we surveyed both the program's alumni and political and non-political community leaders. The survey included items designed to determine individual attitudes, behavioral patterns, and opinions on local issues; demographic items were also included. Responses to all non-demographic items were marked on a five-point ordinal scale with "1" representing strongest agreement with an item and "5" representing strongest disagreement. Four hundred surveys were mailed. Of the two hundred thirty-two responses received, eighty-two were from Leadership Birmingham alumni, twenty were from political leaders, and one hundred thirty were from general community leaders. This number of responses was great enough to allow meaningful statistical analyses.

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[11]   Sukel, 738.
[12]   *Ibid.,* 738.

In evaluating the statistics, we made several specific choices in order to best explore our hypothesis. First, we eliminated the responses of the political leaders from our analyses. Since Leadership Birmingham does not admit political leaders, deleting their responses was a justifiable method of comparing like groups. Furthermore, responses from political leaders were few, making any analyses unreliable. Second, we focused on items concerning concrete local issues as a better indicator of individual's opinions than items concerning more abstract issues. Also, concrete issues are more informative about and applicable to the community, making our results more relevant to Leadership Birmingham's impact on the community. Finally, we examined pertinant demographic items to eliminate the possibilty of socialization factors other than Leadership Birmingham.

In analyzing the responses, we used crosstabulations and breakdown tables to examine the issues, checking the validity of our figures with T-tests. We used these results to demonstrate that Leadership Birmingham does expose its participants to a socialization process.

DATA ANALYSIS

In analyzing the data, we first looked at the mean answers of the two groups. The mean is an indication of a group's overall opinion on an issue; thus, a significant difference between the means of our two groups suggests that Leadership Birmingham alumni have formed distinctly different opinions from those of general leaders. We found strong differences between the opinions of the two groups on current local issues; crosstabulations of the percentages, which we collapsed into a scale of "agree," "neutral," and

TABLE 1

LOCAL ISSUE BY GROUP *

ITEM	GROUP	PERCENTAGES		
		agree	neutral	disagree
Emphasize rehabilitation programs over building new jails[c]	1[a]	42.3	23.1	34.6
	2[b]	57.1	20.7	23.2
Favor annexing parts of Jefferson and Shelby Counties	1	40.0	22.3	37.7
	2	72.6	13.8	13.8
Favor consolidation of Jefferson County	1	42.6	16.2	39.3
	2	73.2	8.5	18.3
Favor increased public funding for the arts[d]	1	70.0	15.4	14.6
	2	81.7	8.5	9.7

(table continued on next page...)

    * On the following issues, there was not a statistically significant difference in the level of consensus within each group. However, there was a statistically significant difference between the opinions (means) of the two groups ($p < 0.001$).

    [a] Group 1 = community leaders

    [b] Group 2 = Leadership Birmingham members

    [c] $p = 0.013$

    [d] $p = 0.044$

TABLE 1

(Continued)

ITEM	GROUP	PERCENTAGES		
		agree	neutral	disagree
Favor integration of private social clubs	1	39.3	20.8	40.0
	2	64.6	19.5	15.9
Fragmentation must be eliminated before city can move forward	1	70.0	11.5	18.5
	2	84.2	3.7	12.2
Governor Hunt has done an excellent job[e]	1	69.3	24.6	6.2
	2	51.3	40.2	8.6
Minority businesses should be favored in awarding of contracts	1	15.4	20.8	63.8
	2	45.1	22.0	32.9
Must support UAB to ensure Birmingham's future development[f]	1	77.0	10.8	12.3
	2	82.9	8.5	8.5

[e] $p = 0.003$

[f] $p = 0.042$

TABLE 2

LOCAL ISSUE BY GROUP AND DEGREE OF CONSENSUS

ITEM	GR	PERCENTAGES[a]			SM[b]	SD[c]
		agr	neu	dis		
(see note *d*)						
Arrington has done	1[e]	53.1	20.8	26.2	2.60	1.08
an excellent job	2[f]	85.3	9.8	4.8	1.89	0.87
Favor local	1	76.9	7.7	15.3	2.03	1.18
property taxes to	2	97.6	2.4	0.0	1.30	0.51
improve education						
Women should be	1	72.9	15.5	11.7	2.07	1.04
allowed in civic	2	91.4	8.5	0.0	1.57	0.66
clubs (Rotary, etc.)						

(table continued on next page...)

[a] The original scale includes (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) neutral, (4) disagree, and (5) strongly disagree. It has here been collapsed into a three-point scale.

[*] On all items, there was a statistically significant difference between bewteen the opinions (means) of the two groups ($p < 0.001$ unless noted).

[b] Statistical mean

[c] Standard deviation

[d] There is a statistically significant difference between the levels of consensus (standard deviations) within these groups 1pc ($p < 0.050$).

[e] Group 1 = community leaders

[f] Group 2 = Leadership Birmingham members

TABLE 2

(Continued)

ITEM	GR	PERCENTAGES[a]			SM[b]	SD[c]
		agr	neu	dis		
(see note g)						
Active supporter	1	33.6	19.5	46.9	3.26	1.26
of Turf Club[h]	2	48.8	23.2	28.1	2.80	1.06
Favor civil-rights	1	30.4	25.8	43.7	3.16	1.22
museum	2	72.8	18.5	8.6	2.07	1.02
Favor home rule[i]	1	86.1	10.9	3.1	1.86	0.79
	2	88.9	3.7	7.4	1.64	0.95

[g] There is a statistically significant difference between the levels of consensus (standard deviations) within these groups ($p < 0.089$).

[h] $p = 0.005$

[i] $p = 0.060$

TABLE 3

Two issues by group and degree of consensus

ITEM	GROUP	SD[a]	SIG[b]
Alabama education is adequate	1[c]	1.00	0.808
	2[d]	1.02	
Supporting UAB is is vital to Birmingham	1	0.97	0.424
	2	0.90	0.424

[a] Standard deviation

[b] Significance

[c] Group 1 = community leaders

[d] Group 2 = Leadership Birmingham members

"disagree," clearly demonstrate this difference. It is important to note that issues with these strong differences are related to topics discussed in the Leadership Birmingham program.

One such issue involved the survey item, "Birmingham should continue to annex parts of Jefferson and Shelby counties." Of the responses to this item, 40.0% of the general leaders agree, 22.3% are neutral, and 37.7% disagree. However, 72.6% of the Leadership Birmingham alumni agree, while only 13.8% are neutral and only 13.8% disagree. A T-test of this data indicates that a less than 0.1% chance exists that these results would occur if there were no real difference of opinion between the two groups. While the statistics do not demonstrate strong support for the annexation from the general leaders, the Leadership Birmingham alumni overwhelmingly favor it, clearly indicating that they hold a different opinion than do the general leaders.

Another issue with significant differences between the means involves the survey item, "I support preferential treatment of minority businesses in the awarding of contracts." Of the responses to this item, 15.4% of the general leaders agree, 20.8% are neutral, and 63.8% disagree. In contrast, 45.1% of the Leadership Birmingham alumni agree, 22.0% are neutral, and 32.9% disagree. This item also has a statistical significance of $p < 0.001$. However, these results could be influenced by the fact that there are significantly more blacks in Leadership Birmingham than in the group of general leaders.

Survey items which yielded similar results are presented in Table 1. Interestingly, on all items the Leadership Birmingham participants were significantly more in favor of the progressive attitudes described by the survey, with the ex-

ception of the statement concerning Governor Hunt. In this case, fewer than 10.0% of the respondents in each group disagree; 69.3% of the general leaders agree and 24.6% are neutral, while only 51.3% of the Leadership Birmingham participants agree and 40.2% are neutral. These differences are probably explained by the significantly larger number of Democrats in Leadership Birmingham.

Once a significant difference between the opinions of the two groups was established, we determined the level of consensus within each group by looking at the standard deviations from the means for each issue. Of course, the smaller the standard deviation, the higher the degree of consensus within a group. A T-test allowed us to compare the significance of the differences between the standard deviations. Our analyses revealed a significantly lower standard deviation for Leadership Birmingham members on several issues, indicating a greater consensus within this group.

One item demonstrating such consensus is the statement, "We need to raise local property taxes in order to improve education in Alabama." As with the previously discussed issues, a significant difference between the overall group opinions exists ($p < 0.001$). The mean for the general leaders is 2.03; that for the Leadership Birmingham participants, 1.30. Moreover, the levels of consensus within each group are significantly different ($p < 0.050$). The standard deviation from the mean of the general leaders is 1.18; that for the Leadership Birmingham participants, 0.51. Thus, there is a much higher level of consensus on this issue among the members of Leadership Birmingham than among the other leaders.

A significant difference in consensus levels is also indicated by the responses to the item, "I favor and will support the establishment of a civil rights museum in Birmingham."

The standard deviation from the mean for general leaders in this case is 1.22, while that of Leadership Birmingham members is 1.02 (p < 0.089). Again, there is a significant difference in the overall opinions of the two groups, as indicated by the means: 3.16 for general leaders and 2.07 for Leadership Birmingham alumni (p < 0.001).

Other items with significantly different consensus levels are presented in Table 2. The one discrepancy in the table is the higher level of consensus among general leaders on the item, "I favor home rule for local units of government in Alabama." Although the level of consensus was slightly less among Leadership Birmingham alumni on this issue, as a group they are significantly more in favor of home rule.

There are two survey items concerning local issues which relate to the Leadership Birmingham curriculum but show no significantly different consensus levels within the groups: "Alabama schools (K-12) provide adequate education" and "Generally speaking, I tend to believe that support for UAB is necessary to ensure Birmingham's future development." The probability that the consensus levels differ by chance is 80.8% for the education issue and 42.4% for the UAB issue (Table 3). We suspect that these issues are so clear-cut that opinions regarding them are unlikely to be altered by exposure to Leadership Birmingham.

CONCLUSIONS

As indicated by the data, Leadership Birmingham participants not only exhibit more unified opinions than general community leaders, but are also usually more progressive in their attitudes. Thus, our results demonstrate that Leadership Birmingham does expose its participants to a

socialization process, supporting the hypothesis that participation in Leadership Birmingham produces a consensus of opinion among its members.

In looking at the progressive tendencies of Leadership Birmingham alumni, one should consider the possibility that a program like Leadership Birmingham may initially attract progressive individuals. Of course, the program does not intentionally seek out the community's most progressive individuals; however, the time commitment which the program involves requires that any applicant be dedicated to the community.

Other analyses of the survey data indicate that Leadership Birmingham alumni have a great influence on the community through their involvement in it. Furthermore, since the literature we reviewed states that leaders influence their subordinates' attitudes, Leadership Birmingham alumni may also have an impact on the community through their subordinates. If this is so, Leadership Birmingham clearly has a responsibility to the community in cultivating its leaders—a responsibility we believe that Leadership Birmingham is fulfilling by fostering the progressive attitudes indicated by our data.

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THE SOUTH AND ANCIENT ISRAEL*

by Pamela Fink

Wᴵᴸᴸᴵᴀᴍ ꜰᴀᴜʟᴋɴᴇʀ ᴏɴᴄᴇ ꜱᴀᴵᴅ, when making a speech
about his South, that he loved "all of it even while [hat-
ing] some of it because he [learned] that you don't love be-
cause: you love despite; not for the virtues, but despite the
faults"[1] Anyone who studies Faulkner's works can testify
to Faulkner's love/hate relationship with the South, for it
permeates his literature. On the one hand, Faulkner's love
for the South can be seen in his idealization of the individ-
ual and the the middle class agrarian values upon which
the South, indeed all of America, was originally founded.
On the the other hand, Faulkner's hatred for the South
is vividly represented by his often apocalyptic vision of a
South that has rebelled against its original values. In fact,
Faulkner's love/hate relationship with the South much re-
sembles an Old Testament prophet's love/hate relationship
with ancient Israel. For just as the prophets of old beg
rebellious Israel to return to her original heritage or face
judgment, Faulkner, through his literature, calls the South
to repentence so that it may escape ultimate judgment.

Before we can look at Faulkner's comparison of the

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[1] William Faulkner, *Essays Speeches and Public Letters*, Edited by
James Meriwether (New York: Random House, 1965), 43.

South to ancient Israel, however, we must first understand
how he comes to see the South as rebellious. Faulkner's lit-
erature indeed reflects his idealization of the agrarian way
of life from which the South has rebelled. An agrarian so-
ciety

> is one in which agriculture is the leading vocation,
> whether for wealth, for pleasure, or for prestige—a
> form of labor that is pursued with intelligence and
> leisure, and that becomes the model to which the
> other forms [of societies] approach as well as they
> may. . . . The theory of agrarianism is that the
> culture of the soil is the best and most sensitive
> of vocations, and that therefore it should have the
> economic preference and enlist the the maximum
> number of workers"[2]

In addition, an agrarian society is so special to Faulkner
because he feels that it best provides the freedom for an
individual to pursue "equal right and opportunity to make
the best one can of one's life within one's capacity and
capability."[3]

Faulkner's idealization of the land and the individual is
vividly portrayed in his characterization of Isaac McCaslin.
Isaac rejects the world by repudiating his inheritance in
order to return to the land and find peace.   Faulkner
says about Isaac, the things that Sam Fathers taught him
"didn't give him success but they gave him something a lot
more important, even in this country. They gave him seren-
ity, they gave him what would pass for wisdom"[4] Isaac tells

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[2] *I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition*, by
Twelve Southerners (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1930), xix.

[3] Faulkner, *Essays*, 150.

[4] Francis Utley, *Bear, Man, and God* (New York: Random House,
1971), 113.

his nephew, Cass, that all men "should hold the earth mu-
tual and intact in the communal anonymity of brotherhood,
and all the fee [God asks is] pity and humility and suffer-
ance and endurance and the sweat of his face for bread."[5]
Faulkner, himself, suggests this idea when he speaks of the
rights of "independence and freedom in which to work and
endure in [our] own sweat in order to earn for [ourselves]
what the old ancestors meant by happiness and the pursuit
of it."[6]

Yet in spite of this positive character, anyone reading
Faulkner's works will find that they reflect very little of
this positive view of the individual because the South, in
his mind, perverted the true essence of individualism and
agrarianism when it began the mass production of staple
crops, especially cotton, in order to profit from the indus-
trial revolution in England. In other words, the nineteenth
century cotton plantation system merely became a colonial
expression of the industrial revolution taking place in Eu-
rope.[7] Moreover, the South's attempt to keep an agrarian
based society and economy while at the same time trying to
make extensive material gains, in Faulkner's opinion, lays
the seed of corruption which he feels has come to full bloom
during his lifetime. We see this idea clearly when Faulkner
answers Frederick Gwynn's and Joseph Blotner's question
about how change can destroy all goodness. Faulkner an-
swers,

> Change if it is not controlled by wise people de-
> stroys sometimes more than it brings. . . . change

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[5] William Faulkner, *Go Down Moses* (New York: Vintage Books,
1973), 257.

[6] Faulkner, *Essays*, 131.

[7] Samuel Stayer (Professor of History, Birmingham-Southern), per-
sonal interview, January 1988.

> can destroy what is irreplaceable. If the reason for
> the change is base in motive—that is, to clear the
> wilderness just to make cotton land, to raise cotton
> on an agrarian economy of peonage, slavery, is base
> because it's not as good as the wilderness it replaces
> . . . [and] if all the destruction of the wilderness
> does is to give more people more automobiles just
> to ride around in, then the wilderness was better. .
> . . [8]

The South should have never left her original beginnings.
By compromising her ideals, the South became vulnera-
ble to the corruption that rampant materialism brings and
began to deteriorate morally, socially, and economically be-
cause of its rebellion. To Faulkner, the plantation system
and its values became the first manifestation of the evil
that the South had allowed to creep into its society. Yet,
while the plantation system and its values were abhorrent
to Faulkner, he sees them as only a foretaste of what he
considers the ultimate corruption of the South, its attempt
to modernize through industrialization.

Thus, his literature, for the most part, ignores the ideal
portrayal of individuals, and focuses upon the corruption he
sees as existing in the South. Faulkner's works are apoc-
alyptic,[9] therefore, because they reflect his horror at the
moral, social, and economic stagnation of the South due to
its rebellion from its true agrarian heritage of individual-
ism and its continuation of the corrupt values sown when it
compromised its original beliefs and established the plan-
tation system in order to prosper materially. Thus, we
see how Faulkner is much like the Old Testament prophet

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[8] Utley, 118.
[9] Jane Archer (Associate Professor of English, Birmingham-South-
ern), personal interview, January 1988.

who is concerned about the moral and spiritual decay of Is-
rael. Consciously or unconsciously, William Faulkner seems
to compare the South to ancient Israel who has rebelled
against her origianl heritage, a personal relationship with
Yahweh. Moreover, just as the prophets call Israel to re-
pentance and a return to her original values, Faulkner's
works seem to call the South to repentance and a return to
its original values of respecting the individual's equality to
others. And ultimately we see that the Apocalyptic nature
of his literature suggests that if the South does not return
to its original heritage it will be destroyed as Israel was
destroyed.

In order to understand Faulkner's apocalyptic prophecy
for the South, there is no better place to start than with the
character Thomas Sutpen from *Absalom, Absalom!*. Sutpen
leaves his home in what later would be called the West Vir-
ginia mountains where "The land belonged to anybody and
everybody" in order to start his own plantation.[10] Sutpen
rejects his middle class agrarian values which place individ-
ual freedom and dignity above material or social prestige.
He learns that in society there is a "difference not only be-
tween white men and black ones, but . . . that there is a
difference between white men and white men, not measured
by lifting anvils or gouging eyes or how much whiskey you
could drink then get up and walk out of the room."[11] Sut-
pen realizes that the difference between men is based not
only on race, but on material wealth as well. Faulkner uses
Sutpen's rebellion against his heritage as a symbol for the
South's rebellion from her original heritage that supports
freedom for the individual. As Faulkner critic Olga Vick-

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[10] William Faulkner, *Absalom, Absalom!* (New York: The Modern
Library, 1964), 221.

[11] *Ibid.*, 226.

ery puts it, "It is through a deliberate choice involving the
repudiation of his past that Sutpen becomes an image of
the South. However lacking in elegance, his mountain home
[stresses] certain fundamental values—the man rather than
his possessions" is what matters.[12]   The South adopts a
value system that places importance on a man's skin color
and his material possessions; moreover, the South has taken
freedom from the individual and given it to an elite social
class, the planters. Yet, we know that the planter's lifestyle
was as much a lavish one as it was a lie. If the image of the
planter's lifestyle was a leisurely one, it was because it was
a part he played to perpetuate the system. The planter
elite went to a lot of trouble to convince the world that
they held to old world values of feudalism. Even though
there were only a few lavish plantation estates, this image
was so powerful that it seduced many small farmers, like
Sutpen's character, away from their small family farms in
an attempt to join the planter elite.

Not only does Faulkner use Sutpen to illustrate the
South's rebellion against its original heritage, but he also
illustrates this point by the title of his novel. Absalom is
the rebellious son of King David, an Old Testament pic-
ture of Christ. Absalom feels that he can be a better king
than David, so he steals "the hearts of the men of Israel"
by stating "Oh that I were made judge in the land, that
every man which hath a suit or cause might come unto
me, and I would do him justice."[13] Absalom wins the sup-
port of Israel and attempts to overthrow David.[14] The fact
that the people support Absalom and his rebellion is im-

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[12] *Ibid.,* 93.

[13] 2 Sam. 15:6,4. This and all further biblical passages are taken
from the Authorized (King James) Version.

[14] 2 Samuel 15:13.

portant, for it shows how Israel continues to rebel against God's will. Moreover, the fact that David is an Old Testament picture of Christ is extremely important because it suggests that Faulkner believes that the South's rebellion from her original heritage is in reality a rebellion from God.[15] Faulkner's biblical allusion to Absalom along with his characterization of Sutpen also suggests that Faulkner feels that, from the planter who projects the aristocratic tradition to the small yeoman farmer who wants to be like the planter, all Southern people are sanctioning the rebellion against original values. We have already made note of one parallel between Faulkner's view of the Old South and ancient Israel; however, if we look closely we will see other parallels.

History has shown us that a lack of material success caused Southern farmers to embrace the mass production of staple crops such as tobacco, rice, and indigo. The Southern farmer moved to produce these crops in such a large way because the English mercantile system artificially created many markets for American goods.[16] As Clement Eaton tells us, in his *A History of The Old South*, "the main incentive for the rise of such [estates] of agricultural production was the profits to be obtained from the cultivation of tobacco and rice on an extensive scale for the European market."[17] The mass production of staple crops led farmers to the mass acquisition of land holdings.[18] Thus, the abundance of middle class land owners due to programs such as the Headright System, a program that gave middle class

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[15] Lisa Elliott, personal interview, January 1988.

[16] Stayer.

[17] Clement Eaton, *A History of the Old South* (New York: Macmillan, 1975), 21.

[18] *Ibid.*

farmers the opportunity to purchase undeveloped land at a
minimal price,[19] was soon ended as planters began purchas-
ing land to mass produce crops. The South rebelled against
her middle class agrarian values for the sake of materialism
and the pursuit of profits. The equality of opportunity
for the individual to make a living working the land that
Faulkner spoke of became less and less a reality as the dis-
tribution of wealth became more concentrated into social
levels by the development of the plantation system.

However, Sutpen is not only used by Faulkner as a sym-
bol of the middle class farmer rebelling against his princi-
ples for profit and prestige; Sutpen is also like the Israelite
who, when he entered Caanan, rebelled against God. For
example, the Israelites' original value system was based on
a personal relationship with the living God, Yahweh. The
Lord's foremost commandment to His people is "Thou shalt
have no other gods before me."[20] "Thou Shalt," being sin-
gular, placed the burden of worship upon the individual
Israelite just like the original burden for success or failure
in the original South was placed upon the individual. The
Israelites were for the most part faithful to God while be-
ing purified and purged in the wilderness; however, after
they entered the land of Caanan, Israel rebelled against
God's commandment for individual worship and "followed
. . . the gods of the people that were around them, and
bowed themselves unto them."[21] Moreover, William Martin
hinted in *These Were God's People*, that the possible rea-
son that Israel rebelled against Yahweh was a materialistic
reason. He stated, "despite [their] clear differences, the Is-
raelites again and again turned [from Yahweh] to [Asherak

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[19] Stayer.

[20] Exodus 20:3.

[21] Judges 2:12.

a Caananite fertility god]. Perhaps they reasoned that Yah-
weh was fine for matters of war and conquest, but Baal [and
Asherak] had had more experience when it came to agricul-
ture."[22] We can see the similarity to Sutpen who is faithful
to his values until he leaves his mountain home and enters
a settled land. Sutpen wants to be like the rich planters.
He rebels against his values of respecting individual worth
and effort and adopts those values of the planters who re-
spect material success and elite heritage. Again, we notice
the similarity between Faulkner's Old South and ancient Is-
rael. Just as the South rebels against her original heritage
for the sake of materialistic gain, Israel, too, rebels against
her heritage because she feels that worshiping a fertility god
might bring about more agricultural prosperity. Indeed, we
see that Sutpen becomes not only the Southerner who be-
trays his heritage, but Sutpen also becomes the Israelite
who leaves his purging, purifying home in the wilderness,
settles Caanan, and then rebels against his original values.

However, we know that ancient Israel was ultimately
judged for its rebellion. In spite of the numerous warn-
ings and chances for repentance that Yahweh gave Israel, it
continued in its sin, and was ultimately destroyed and scat-
tered by the Romans in A.D. 70 Faulkner shows his view
of judgment by the destruction of Sutpen's family in *Ab-
salom, Absalom!*. We learn through the genealogy that by
1910 there is no one left of the Sutpen family except Sut-
pen's mentally retarded part Negro great grandson. Sutpen
and his family are judged and destroyed by and through
Sutpen's own sins. Moreover, the complete destruction of
Sutpen, his family, and his plantation is Faulkner's way of
illustrating how sin and corruption will lead to judgment.

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[22] William Martin, *These Were God's People* (Nashville: The South-
ern Company, 1966), 106.

In addition, the destruction of the Sutpen family also shows the judgment passed upon the Old South because of its sins.

Yet, in spite of the judgment brought upon the South, Faulkner still feels that it is not only continuing in her sins, but it is also becoming more corrupt. The South had its opportunity to learn from sin and repent of the rebellion from its original values. However, just as Sutpen comes back from the war and attempts to re-establish his plantation dynasty, the South comes back from the war and continues in its sin. Moreover, the South's continuation in sin causes her to become more corrupt until she, in Faulkner's mind, is moving toward the ultimate of evil in her attempt to become industrialized. Faulkner's works reflect his fear that, just as Israel failed to repent of its sins and was ultimately destroyed, the South will be ultimately destroyed through its embrace of the ultimate sin of industrialization.

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AUTHENTICITY IN
*THE NAME OF THE ROSE**

by Donna Tolliver

U MBERTO ECO'S NOVEL *The Name of the Rose* is a modern
narrative relating a medieval tale. While Eco describes the
details of the Middle Ages accurately, limits to the amount
of verisimilitude he can create exist simply because he is
writing about a time when people held radically different
views about life, religion, art, and culture than they hold
today. Therefore, in determining how well *The Name of the
Rose* works as a modern narrative relating a medieval tale,
one must consider the basic difference between medieval
and modern narratives.

Reflecting the mind-set of the times, medieval narra-
tives are extremely interwoven and comparative. A de-
scription of one character or set of happenings was often
interrupted with a discourse on another. For example, in
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, descriptions of Gawain's
morning tests of honor are clarified by accounts of Berelac's
hunting scenes. Medieval readers viewed each event in a
story in light of all other events, juxtaposing scenes rather
than viewing them as a linear plot line. Again from Gawain,
that knight's actions during his final encounter with the

Green Knight reflect those of a deer, boar, or fox recounted earlier in the tale. Many of the stories were also typological; their plots were written to remind readers of other stories and people. For instance, the tale of Sir Orfeo may be read as a type of Christ's harrowing of hell.

Modern naratives are obviously quite different. They usually follow a temporal, vector-like plot; events tend to move in one direction, seldom mirroring other happenings. Characters and their development generally receive the most emphasis, not events and their similarities to each other.

The Name of the Rose has characteristics resembling those of narratives of the Middle Ages. Although its typical twentieth-century straight plot line does allow for the slow unfolding of events, the significance of each event lies in its relation to other occurrences. Eco does include comparisons in *The Name of the Rose*, but they are not the separate, juxtaposed narratives of a medieval work. Instead, Eco draws parallels through the minds of Brother William and Adso. Realizing that to solve murders a detective must make comparisons, Eco describes William's interwoven thoughts not only to unravel the mystery, but also to reveal the intertwined workings of the medieval mind. William solves puzzles by mentally constructing all possible relationships among facts and details. It is precisely this comparative, medieval mind-set that makes William such an acute detective.

Another distinguishing characteristic of many medieval narratives is some type of organizing framework contrived with a device such as the dream vision in the *Roman de la Rose*. Boccaccio in the *Decameron* and Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales* use a group of storytellers to provide superstructures for those works. Gawain may be called an

"architectural" poem thanks to such parallels as those between the bedroom, hunting, and beheading scenes. The superstructure of *The Name of the Rose* is one of a week, with the days divided according to the canonical hours.

The complex overall structure of a medieval work was often a way to incorporate into the piece some theological idea or aesthetic. The complex pattern of concatenation in the poem *Pearl* underscores the work's religious theme by creating a circular structure suggestive of a pearl itself, for pearls are reminiscent of God due to their natural luminosity and the eternity of their spherical shape. The pilgrimage in the *Canterbury Tales* also highlights its inherently Christian themes.

The outer structure of days and hours in *The Name of the Rose* accents the novel's monastic setting, illustrating the monks' complete involvement with with their religion and its dictates.

Eco's exploration of medieval aesthetics also adds to the novel's authenticity, for identity as a Christian was a dominant feature of the medieval person's psyche and aesthetics is an integral part of Christian theology.

Early in the novel, Adso summarizes medieval aesthetics concisely but thoroughly. In his words:

> Three things occur in creating beauty: firts of all integrity or perfection, and for this reason we consider ugly all incomplete things; then proper proportion or consanance; and finally clarity and light. [1]

Embodiments of all these ideas occur throughout the book, demonstrating the integrity of completion and perfection is the Aedificium, described as follows:

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[1] Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*, translated by William Weaver (New York: Warner Books, 1980), 79.

This was the octagonal construction that from a
distance seemed a tetragon (a perfect form, which
expresses the sturdiness and impregnability of the
City of God). . . . Three rows of windows pro-
claimed the triune rhythm of its elevation, so that
what was physically squared on the earth was spir-
itual triangular in the sky. . . . The quadrangular
form included . . . a heptagonal tower, five sides
of which were visible from the outside—four of the
eight sides, then, of the greater octagon producing
four minor heptagons, which from the outside ap-
peared as pentagons. [2]

The Aedificium, exhibiting completeness and integrity
of form, is all the more perfect for the numerology it ex-
emplifies. Among other things, eight is the number of per-
fection, four represents the number of the Gospels, five is
the count of the zones of the world, and seven is the num-
ber of the gifts of the Holy Ghost.[3] Numbers are constant,
absolute, and can form perfect ratios and equations. Rela-
tionships among numbers were thought uncontrollable by
humans and created by God.[4]

Other examples of numerology occur throughout *The
Name of the Rose*. The geometric structure of the Aedi-
ficium provides the basis for the labyrinth of the library.
The abbot cites the great significance of the number three:
three is the trinity; three angels visited Abraham; Jonah
spent three days in the belly of the whale; three times
Christ hid from his disciples to pray; thrice Peter denied
Jesus and thrice Jesus appeared to the apostles after the
Resurrection.[5] Brother William points out that 3 + 4 is 7,

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[2] *Ibid.*, 15-16.

[3] *Ibid.*, 16.

[4] Davis, 6.

[5] Eco, 539-40.

a "superlatively mystical" number, while 3 x 4 is 12, the
number of the disciples.[6] And just as noteworthy as these
numerological relationships is the mind that perceives and
records them.

Insofar as it is based on numerical patterns, consonance,
or harmony (especially of musical tones), is another aspect
of medieval aesthetics at work in the novel. The harmony of
the design of such things as the Aedificium is quite evident.
Adso desribes at length the spiritually enhancing effects
the music of the hours has on him.[7] Music is based on
numerical patterns of stresses and pitches. Since numbers
come from God and music is based upon them, music was
believed to closely resemble a manifestation of the perfect
and the divine.

Eco also manipulates the medieval regard for the beauty
of light by having Adso explain its aesthetic value:

> In the outpouring of physical light which made the
> room glow, [was] the spiritual principle that light
> incarnates, radiance, source of all beauty and learn-
> ing. . . . [8]

To clarify this principle, Adso describes the scriptorium in
regard to its well-lit interior:

> The great room was cheered by a constant diffused
> light. . . . The panes were not colored . . .
> [and] allowed the light to enter in the purest possible
> fashion, not modulated by human art, and thus to
> serve its purpose, which was to illuminate. . . . [9]

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[6] *Ibid.,* 540.

[7] *Ibid.,* 499.

[8] *Ibid.,* 79.

[9] *Ibid.,* 79.

Adso also discusses universal order and symbols. He contemplates the idea of the presence of a divine order, stating that architecture is the art form most nearly reproducing the divine order of the universe.[10]   However, Brother William questions the existence of a divine order after he partially solves the mystery by mistakenly assuming that the crimes were the result of a master plan. When he discovers that they were not haphazard, that the order he thought existed did not, he begins to doubt the actuality of a divine order.[11]   The importance of William's method of sleuthing by envisioning possible relationships is in its demonstration of the medieval mind's enjoyment of problem-solving, puzzle unraveling, and wordplay.

Eco delves even further into medieval aesthetics by including discussions of signs and symbols. In the first section of the book Brother William identifies the unseen horse Brunellus from the signs it leaves. He later discusses the significance of signs with Adso, giving this explanation:

> The print does not always have the same shape as the body that impressed it, and it doesn't always derive the same pressure from the body. At times it reproduces the impression a body has left in our mind: it is the print of an idea. The idea is sign of things, and the image is the sign of the idea, sign of a sign. But from the image I can reconstruct, if not the body, the idea that others have of it.[12]

The abbot gives a lengthy discussion on the symbolic characteristics of stones and jewels,[13] thus seeing material goods as reminders of God.

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[10]   *Ibid.,* 22.

[11]   *Ibid.,* 599-600.

[12]   *Ibid.,* 381.

[13]   *Ibid.,* 543-544

Adso contemplates the beauty of all things as creations of God:

I said to myself that the world was good and admirable. That the goodness of God is made manifest also in the most horrid beasts. . . . [for] all these foul beasts sing in their variety the praises of the Creator and His wisdom."[14]

The concept of the world being beautiful due to its creation by God is a basic precept of medieval thinking. This idea is also explored when Brother William and Jorge argue during the climax of the novel.[15] Jorge argues that the second book of the *Poetics* incorrectly elevates laughter and comedy to art, thereby making it a tool for the educated and the wise. However, (Jorge believes) laughter frees one from fear, even fear of the devil. Comedy as art would thus teach release from fear of the devil as wisdom, giving humans a sense of control when only God has power over creation. Since God is the only perfection and the only divine, humans should not have faith in their own imperfect, transient selves.

Brother William argues against the obscuring of knowledge and the suppressing of laughter, implying that anything as a creation of God must have some good and that using the mind God granted one cannot be bad. He also argues that comedy is only another way of looking at things, not a foolish endeavor. This argument between Jorge and Brother William remains unresolved, for Jorge destroys the *Poetics* and fire ignites the library, but their discussion illustrates some of the issues concerning the medieval mind and the manner in which it deliberated.

In short, to create verisimilitude and an authentic

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[14] *Ibid.,* 339.

[15] *Ibid.,* 563-601.

mind-set, Eco depicts many aspects of medieval aesthetics in *The Name of the Rose.* And, more importantly, he does not force them on his story but allows them to develop naturally as ideas and issues elicited by situations and objects, details of the monastery setting, the characterization of monks, or the unraveling of the mystery.

However, obstacles exist which prevent Eco from creating a completely authentic medieval manuscript. *The Name of the Rose* is a modern book by a modern writer; the medieval world no longer exists. And, although a supposed recreation of a manuscript/journal, the book is a novel—a literary genre non-existent in the Middle Ages.

Eco writes a realistic work despite these obstacles. His technical structure mirrors that of medieval narratives; the days and canonical hours provide a superstructure underscoring the medieval person's preoccupation with God and religion. His thorough exploration of fourteenth-century aesthetics adds greatly to the characterization of the medieval mind-set, as does his creation of William's inductive, comparative detective work. Indeed, by composing a murder mystery, Eco invents the perfect setting in which to convey the medieval mind-set to the modern audience. By following the thoughts of the mature William and the young Adso as they unravel the mystery, the modern audience can come to understand the inductive medieval mind.

Just as, in Adso's words,

> The whole universe is surely like a book written by the finger of God, . . . in which everything speaks to us of the immense goodness of the creator . . . in which the humblest rose becomes a gloss of our terrestrial progress,

so do Eco's manipulations of narration, structure, and aesthetics work together to create an achievement of medieval

verisimilitude and of modern entertainment.

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THE BLACK DEATH

by David Higginbotham

IN ART, LITERATURE, AND MUSIC there is much evidence which reveals how drastically the devastation of the Black Death influenced the medieval mind. What follows is a short study in search of the answers to three questions: What affect did the Black Death have on the medieval perception of life and death?; what did the art and literature of the period express about these notions?; and, how were these images expressed? It is important to note that there were many devastations in the fourteenth century and that none of them can be solely attributed with causing a change in the medieval perception of life and death. Even the Black Death, which impressed upon the medieval mind the futility of earthly existence more than any other fourteenth century catastrophe, should not be attributed with creating the horrible image of Death which afflicted the medieval mind. Such images have a history which precedes the Black Death by many years. We can however, attribute the Black Death with making these images more severe, and with causing them to be manifest more frequently in the art and literature of the era. Keeping this in mind, let us first explore what impact the hardships of the turbulent fourteenth century had on the medieval attitude toward living and dying. Then, let us survey the variety of ways in which these views are shown, briefly pinpointing the origins of

the motifs and mediums through which these ideas were expressed.

I

   The Black Death bacterium flourishes in the stomach of the *Xenopsylla cheopis*, a flea which lives in the fur of the black rat. Normally, in regions such as China and the Arabian peninsula, where the Black Death is indigenous, the reproduction of the bacterium is held in equilibrium within the ecosystem of the flea and the rat. When certain changes occur, however, the balanced relationship of the rat and the flea is disrupted. Generally attributed to changes in climate, this disruption causes the massive reproduction of the bacterium within the flea's stomach, until finally the flea is prohibited from swallowing. "While attempting to feed, the 'blocked flea' will wretch and regurgitate large numbers of the bacillus into the bloodstream of its rodent host."[1] Because the black rat has been previously exposed to very small numbers of the bacillus, it develops some resistance to the disease, which causes it to spread slowly through the animal population. In the event that the usual rodent host dies, however, the flea may seek human prey, for whom the disease is lethal. Displaying astonishing virulence, it is as persistent and transmissible as the common flu.

   The Black Death may occur in three forms: bubonic, pneumonic, and septicemic. The most common, which cannot be passed from human to human, is the bubonic strain. Named for the huge, egg-sized sores, or "buboes," which

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[1] Robert S. Gottfried, "The Black Death," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, VII (1983), 257.

appear on the body in the glandular regions, the bubonic plague kills roughly fifty percent of those infected. When the disease moves into the lungs, it becomes transmissible by human breath. Highly contagious and highly lethal, the pneumonic plague is twice as deadly as the bubonic plague, sparing almost none of its victims. The most rare and violent breed of the Black Death, however, is the septicemic plague, which occurs when bubonic plague attacks the bloodstream. Almost instantaneously deadly, this vicious affliction causes death within hours.[2] In fact, both the pneumonic and septicemic strains are so deadly that they "tend to self-destruct by killing off all available hosts."[3] Perhaps this substantiates the ironic fact that the most devastating of the three Black Death strains, the bubonic plague, is also the mildest. It allows carriers of the disease to live long enough to allow its transmission to reach epidemic proportions.

According to Robert Gottfried, the disruption that jolted the reproduction of Black Death bacteria to lethal levels was a strange combination of wet and dry seasons in Asia during the 1330's. The path from its native regions to Europe may be traced along Asian trade routes. Once there, the plague infiltrated the continent through major highways of trade and communication, including the high seas, until it finally reached even the most remote places in Europe.[4] After the first outbreak of the plague in 1347 at Messina, the plague recurred in cycles until the seventeenth century, and is estimated to have killed from one fourth to one half of the population of Europe. The pref-

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[2] Henry C. Randall, from a lecture delivered 8 December 1987, class on History of Medieval Europe, Birmingham-Southern College.

[3] Gottfried, 258.

[4] *Ibid.*

ace to Boccaccio's *Decameron* vividly describes the carnage
of the Black Death:

> They dig for each graveyard a huge trench, in which
> they laid corpes as they arrived by the hundreds at
> a time, piling them up tier upon tier as merchandise
> in a stowed ship.[5]

Contemporary physicians never suspected the black rat
as a possible cause of the plague. Instead, they produced
far-fetched theories linking the disease to astral conjunc-
tions, infectious southerly winds, and noxious fumes from
hell released in a series of earthquakes in 1345. The in-
ability of medieval persons to pinpoint the origin of the
scourge and to mitigate its consequences was the source of
tremendous frustration. In the face of their helplessness,
most people viewed the scourge as divine punishment for
the sins of humankind. Unfortunately, this view did not
necessarily result in pious living. People tended to respond
in extremes. Some became extremely pious, as evidenced
by an increase in mysticism. Some became extremely he-
donistic, engaging in drunken revelry. Persons of this latter
group seemed to express the philosophy, "If you only have
one day to live, then live it up."

The plague epidemic brought with it economic change
and increased social mobility. As more and more people
died, the demand for labor increased, and peasants gained
valuable leverage. When offered unfair conditions, a peas-
ant could seek another lord, who might welcome the much-
in-demand laborers. As well, the condition of the common
worker was improved through the inheritance of property
from those who had died. His condition was improved so

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[5] Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black
Death* (New York: Harper and Row, 1951), 65.

much, in fact, that many refused to "work at their accus-
tomed trades; they wanted the dearest and most delicate
foods for their sustenance; and they married at their will,
while children and common women clad themselves in all
the fair and costly garments of the illustrious ladies who
had died."[6]

This period of overabundance immediately following
the plague was bound to end soon, for the uncontrollable
desire of the survivors to spend their newfound wealth re-
sulted in inflation. Initially, the increase in labor costs
caused a rapid rise in the prices of all products, but within
months after the end of the plague, the high death rate
caused the price of agricultural products to fall. At the
same time, the price of luxury goods began to spiral up-
ward. As higher wages pushed lower-class survivors into
higher "income brackets," the demand for luxury items
increased dramatically. The Black Death did eventually
raise the overall standard of living; however, the old manor
system, which depended upon cheap, immobile labor and
chronically high food costs for its success,[7] was changed
forever.

The economic changes initiated by the scourge created
pressures between classes which often resulted in violence.
The higher standard of living enjoyed by the lower classes
essentially came out of the pocket of the traditional rul-
ing class. For the first time, the poor could attain luxuries
which had been unavailable to them, and began to real-
ize with growing discontent how they were being exploited.
The aristocracy, faced with higher costs and lower prof-
its, fought to maintain the traditional economic structure
which was their livelihood. According to Warren Hollis-

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[6] Meiss, 67.
[7] Gottfried, 259.

ter's *The Making of England*, the Peasants Revolt in Eng-
land, although ignited in 1381 by an unfair poll tax, was
the result of deep-seated tension between landlord and ten-
ant which had begun thirty years earlier when Parliament
fixed wages at pre-plague levels.[8] Another historian, Mil-
lard Meiss, credits the Black Death with causing similar
tension in Florence, when the republican government of the
city passed from the old aristocracy into the hands of the
nouveaux riches.[9]

A history of problems during the fourteenth century
cast a shadow of doubt over human existence long before
the pestilence darkened the doorstep of medieval Europe.
The Malthusian crisis, the problem of too many people and
not enough arable land to provide for them, was already
beginning to cause a decline in Europe's population. Crop
failures in England during the second decade of the four-
teenth century, and in Italy in the 1340's, resulted in star-
vation. In 1347, when the gruesome solution to the Malthu-
sian crisis came in the form of the Black Death, we are told
that "it spread quickly among the population where resis-
tance may have already been weakened by malnutrition."[10]

An increase in warfare also contributed to the uncer-
tainty of life during the fourteenth century. In France,
the marauding armies of the Hundred Years War burned
the crops and villages which speckled the countryside. In
addition, there was a sharp increase in domestic warfare
throughout Europe. In 1381, civil war broke out in France
between the houses of Burgundy and Orleans, dividing a
country already suffering from the destruction of war. In

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[8] C. Warren Hollister, *The Making of England* (Lexington, Mass.:
D. C. Heath and Co., 1983), 276.

[9] Meiss, 69.

[10] Hollister, 268.

England, the monarchy's preoccupation with continental campaigns allowed the sprouting of private armies which feudal lords used to settle their petty differences, bringing to their own countryside the sense of fear and instability which they had helped create in France. Italy as well experienced violent turmoil during this period. Wracked by political instability in the aftermath of successive bank failures, Italy was ravaged by the mercenary armies of the bickering despots who had come to power during the economic crisis. Living off the land, these armies raped the Italian peasantry of its skimpy harvests and valuable farm animals.[11]

In times of such hardship, people tend to ask, "Why is this happening to me?" This brings to mind the suffering of Job, a favorite Bible subject of the late fourteenth century, who was not only afflicted by a scourge similar to the Black Death, but whose cattle were stolen and whose crops were burned.[12] Like Job, people of the fourteenth century looked to God to alleviate their suffering. The mediator between God and humankind, the Church, was particularly ill-equipped at this time to meet the spiritual needs of its members. To the developing middle classes, a Church which condemned social mobility and capitalistic practices had become less attractive. In fact, the Church seemed to be the prime example of what it deprecated. Criticism of the Church was fueled by the secular and luxuriant lifestyle of the Avignon Papacy, whose university-educated Curia strengthened the revenue raising power of the Church. Later, the Great Schism discredited the absolute power of the Pope as sole conveyor of scriptural meaning to humankind. The existence of multiple popes, each

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[11] Meiss, 68.
[12] *Ibid.*

claiming to be the true pope and proclaiming conflicting policies, undermined the credibility of papal authority to interpret God's will in a trying time.

As the Church became more and more alienated from its constituents, many people began to deal with spiritual matters directly, bypassing the role of the Church as mediator between Christ and the World. The strong anti-clerical spirit of the fourteenth century and the gradual trend toward rejecting the role of the Church as "middle-man" are evidenced in the heresies of John Wycliffe and Jon Hus, who stressed that the authority of scripture outweighed the power of the pope. The Black Death exacerbated the decaying condition of the Church and reinforced anti-clerical sentiments. Guillaume de Nangis, a French monk of the time, reports that the Church was too weak to administer the sacraments. Many priests who survived the pestilence were so terrified of dying that they fled, leaving only a few monks and friars to perform religious services.[13]

Although the Church was ill-suited, for the most part, to soothe the sufferings of its people, it was quick to point out the cause of their distress. When people asked, "Why is this happening to us?," the Church readily responded in the same manner as Job's neighbors: "Because you have sinned." The homilies of the Franciscans and Dominicans battered the Medieval brain with the message that, "The wages of sin is death" and that worldly living came to a worldly end. Common in these sermons were comments such as: "What is man . . . but a stynkyuge slyme, and after that a sak ful of donge, and at laste mete to wormes."[14] The homilists of the Middle Ages had a long

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[13] Hollister, 268.

[14] G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1965), 341.

heritage of using disgusting images of death to terrify sinners into piety, a heritage that began in the thirteenth century with the appearance of the mendicants. The technique of using grotesque images to "imprint spiritual lessons"[15] was extremely popular throughout the Middle Ages and long afterward for the very simple reason that such imagery made spiritual teaching easy to remember. Great medieval philosophers such as St. Thomas Aquinas lent credibility to this device by upholding the common-sense deduction that such mental pictures were imperative to the function of the mind.[16] In another segment of the sermon quoted above, the preacher, John Bromyard continues to recreate the image of human insignificance: "Rizt as a worme is but litel and a foul thing of no prise, and cometh crepynge naked barze out of the earth where he was bred, rizt so a man at his begynnyng is a foule thing, litel and pore. . . . "[17]

The use of this method, though it undoubtedly made sermons memorable, also conveyed a very crude notion of death. During the plague, when thinking about death became an obsession, people seem to have been able to discern only one of the many conceptions of death, namely the perishability of life.[18] Artists of the period focus upon the ugly side of death, the rotting corpse. Poets dote nostalgically on the futility of living a life of glory, lamenting the loss of beauty. According to Johannes Huizinga in *The Waning of the Middle Ages*,

A thought which so strongly attaches to the earthly

[15] John M. Bowers, *The Crisis of Will in* Piers Plowman (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1986), 31.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] Owst, 341.
[18] J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London: Edward Arnold, 1924), 124.

side of death can hardly be called pious. In exhibiting the horrors awaiting all human beauty . . . these preachers of contempt for the world express a very materialistic sentiment, namely, that all beauty and all happiness are worthless because they are bound to end soon. Renunciation founded on disgust does not spring from Christian wisdom.[19]

II

Of the art forms affected by the Black Death, the most obvious are those which express the corporeal nature of dying. Huizinga catagorizes these in roughly three motifs: (1) the three living and the three dead and its descendant the *danse macabre*; (2) the futility of human splendor expressed by the question, "Where have the great ones gone?"; and finally, (3) the gruesome vision of human beauty lost to decomposition.[20]

Like the other motifs to be discussed, The Three Living and the Three Dead began long before 1347, but gained new prominence after the Black Death. Originating in French poetry of the thirteenth century,[21] The Three Living and the Three Dead is a story about three rich, young hunters and their encounter with Death. Deep in the forest, the men encounter three coffins filled with corpses in different stages of decay. An old hermit then forbodingly appears and informs them that *they* are the three bodies.

In painting, the theme appears in the pages of manuscripts such as Tres Riches Heures and frescos like the one

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[19] *Ibid.,* 126.

[20] *Ibid.,* 124-25.

[21] *Ibid.,* 130.

on the wall of the Campo Santo in Pisa[22] (Plate 1).

As well, it was sculpted, as in a work which no longer exists at the Church of the Innocents, which was authorized by Jean Duc of Berry, the same man who commissioned the Belles Heures and Tres Riches Heures manuscripts, to commemorate his murdered brother in 1407.[23]

As well, the theme appears in literature. The Pardoner's Tale in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (1387) seems to be a variation of the same motif. In the tale, three drunken men set out to kill Death. While roaming a dark forest, the men encounter an old hermit who vows to lead them to the one they seek. Instead of leading the hunters to three coffins, however, the hermit conducts them to a bag of gold. Enthralled by their new treasure, the three abandon their search for Death, but find it inadvertantly, when they kill one another for possession of the valuable sack. The fact that the Three Living and the Three Dead's theme has a moral—that luxurious living results in death—links it to the sermon tradition about which we have previously spoken, and gives the protagonists an "escape-clause" (should they choose to change their lifestyle) that other expressions of Death in the period do not offer.[24]

The most important aspect of the *Three Living and the Three Dead* may be that it gave birth to the Dance of Death, which was greatly popularized during the Black Death. Although the *danse macabre* (or *Totentanz*, in German) first

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[22] T. S. R. Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages* (London: Edward Arnold, 1924), 124.

[23] Beatrice White, introduction to Florence Warren, ed. *The Dance of Death*, (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1931), xvii.

[24] *Ibid.,* xii.

PLATE 1

Fresco in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

appeared in 1312 in Klingenthal, Little Basle,[25] it became
fashionable in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth cen-
turies and has remained, in altered form, a familiar theme
in literature to this day. As well, the *Totentanz* is a fusion
of all of the direct death motifs,[26] and is probably the most
popular of all the arts influenced by the plague. The term,
danse macabre, "is used to describe certain mural paintings
. . . which had as their subject the inevitability of death"[27]
(Plate 2).

In these murals, persons representative of all social sta-
tions are depicted dancing somberly with a jubilant, mock-
ing corpse.

According to Beatrice White, in her book *The Dance of
Death*, there are three elements common to all of the *danses
macabres*.[28] The first is naturally the encounter which takes
place between the living and the dead, in which Death
taints the living and reduces its prey to a state of fear,
and ultimately, decay. Secondly, the Totentanz expresses
an equalization of medieval social estates. The Church of
La Chaise Dieu, for example, depicts men of forty different
social stations from lowest to highest who all meet the same
fate.[29] Later, when women were added to the *danse*, the
picture becomes more grim, often depicting mother being
torn from child. Indeed, equality in death was the only
form of social equality the Middle Ages knew.

The third element of the *danse macabre* is the dance
itself. There is a long history of association between death
and dancing. Ms. White traces this relationship to the per-

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[25] *Ibid.,* x.

[26] Huizinga, *Waning,* 131.

[27] White, ix.

[28] *Ibid.,* xii.

[29] Huizinga, *Waning,* 131.

PLATE 2

Fresco at La Chaise-Dieu.

formance of miracle plays, which were sometimes presented in graveyards. Often, they became drunken revelries which included dancing. Churchmen of the Middle Ages complained frequently of the irreverent practice of dancing in graveyards.[30] The outbreak of the plague in 1371 also gave a unique impulse to dancing. In 1374, a Dutch chronicler tells us, a curious sect identified with dancing sprouted along the Rhine. Large numbers of people, believing that dancing would cure them of the plague, travelled from town to town, dancing in one place for hours. In fact, the fear of death moved people so violently that some of the unfortunate participants who fell to the ground were trampled to death.[31]

Despite these odd accounts, the question remains: - where did this weird fusion between dancing and dying come from? Another book by Johannes Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, provides significant insight. In this book on the human propensity to play, Huizinga describes the characteristics of play and applies them to the diverse and far-reaching realms of love, war and religious ritual, as well as music, theatre, poetry, and dance. These characteristics are common to every culture. Play is designed to create an illusion. People suspend their disbelief in order to enter a pretend world.[32] The playground is suspended within set demarcations of time and space: "Inside the playground," Huizinga tells us, "an absolute and peculiar order reigns." Rules, spoken or unspoken, exist to protect the illusion, and in competitive play forms, to preserve equality and

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[30] White, xiii.

[31] *Ibid.*, xiii-xiv.

[32] J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, translated. (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 29.

fairness.[33]

According to Huizinga, nearly all institutions of civilization (war, law, religion) contain the elements of play.[34] The late Middle Ages was a time in which humankind was especially prone to place almost every aspect of life into the framework of "rules." Courtly love set forth rules to love by, monastic orders laid down rules to live by, and the Pope established guidelines for business transactions, comdemning early banking practices as usurous. Chivalry, which provided rules by which to fight, is, perhaps, the best example of how the play-concept pervades even the most serious human activities. Indeed, warfare was openly considered a sport. Scholarly treatises such as *La science de bien Mourir*[35] even set forth rules for dying. Perhaps one reason the fourteenth century was an age of such confusion was that the illusion created by medieval rules was caving in. Money lending continued to thrive and banks failed as a result of imprudent financial practices; monastic rules became nominal; and warfare, previously a game monopolized by the landed classes, became revolutionized by technological advancements such as the longbow and the cannon.

The dance, too, has the characteristics of play. Its order is dictated by the rhythm and length of the music, and its rules consist of dance steps.[36] To a world which ritualized almost every aspect of life, the temptation to place the most uncontrollable aspect of life, death, into some sort of ordered framework must have been very great, especially in an age when many of society's rules were being shattered

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[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*, 238.

[35] Boase, 119.

[36] Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 188-89.

by social change.

This conjecture that death and dancing are tied together through the play-concept is evidenced by a game which is played today in Switzerland. The game, discussed in Johannes Nohl's book, *The Black Death*, is called "Black Man," a term alluding to death in fourteenth century poetry. First, chanting "Man of black don't touch my back," the children perform a circular dance. Then, the players line up and number off and the ninth player is chosen as "it"—the Black Man. Essentially a game of catch, the Black Man tries to tag the other players. Taunting them, "it" may ask, "Are you afraid of the Black Man?" Or, to the players who venture daringly close, the Black Man may jeeringly inquire, "What do you do when the Black Man comes?" to which they reply, "We take to our legs!" and scatter.[37]

The *danse macabre* was first made popular in France at the Church of the Holy Innocents, whose multi-classed clientele made an appropriate audience for the *danse*. The moving frescoe compelled the English poet John Lydgate to translate the verses and import the Dance of Death to England. According to Beatrice White, the Dance was so immensely popular, that one may have existed in every major church in Europe.[38]

The poem usually consists of two stanzas for each of the many personages carried off by Death. In the first stanza, Death condemns the victim in dance-like meter, doing a little jig as he escorts his prey permanently off the stage of life. In the next stanza, the victim responds by telling about his or her social station and uttering a few words of

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[37] Johannes Nohl, *The Black Death* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), 254.

[38] White, x.

remorse regarding the quickness of life. The hideous corpse
playing the role of Death symbolizes not only the motif of
human decay, but also the departure of humans from death,
a departure which claimed even citizens of the highest social
estate. From this motif came the answer to the question:
"Where are the great ones?"

This question, "Where have the great ones gone?" also
has a history which precedes the second half of the four-
teenth century, and, like others, became frequent during the
Black Death. The theme was used as early as the twelfth
century in the Latin poetry of monastic scholars.[39] Again
a motif owes its origins to the antics of the medieval clergy.

> Where is now your Glory, Babylon?
> Where is now the terrible Nebuchadnezor,
> and strong Doruis and the famous Cyrus?
> Where is now Regulas, or where Romulus,
> or where Remus?
> The rose of yore is but a name, mere names
> are left to us.[40]

The fifteenth century poem "Of the Lords of Bygone
Times," by the French outlaw-poet, Francois Villon, repro-
duces exactly the same sentiment:

> And now where is the third Calliixtus,
> last deceased of that name,
> who four years held the Papal throne?
> Alfonso the King of Aragon,
> the gracious Duke of Bourbon;
> and Arthur, Brittany's duke,
> and good Charles the Seventh of France?
> But where is the bold Charlemagne?[41]

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[39] Huizinga, *Waning*, 125.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] François Villon,

In the end of another Ballade, "Of the Ladies of Bygone time," Villon gives the tender answer:

> Prince, do not ask in a week
> or yet in a year where they are;
> I could only give this refrain:
> but where are the songs of Bygone
> years?[42]

Poets of the fourteenth and fifteenth century combined this theme of lamentation with the motif of decay, as in this English translation of a poem by Chastellain:

> There is not a limb nor a form
> Which does not smell of putrefaction.
> Before the soul in outride,
> The heart which wants to burst in the body
> Passes and lifts the chest
> Which nearly touches the frock home?
> The face is discolored and pale,
> And the eyes veiled in the head.
> Speech fades him,
> For the tongue cleaves to the palate.
> The pulse trembles and he pants
> . . . .
> The bones are disjointed on all sides;
> There is not a tendon which does not
> stretch us to burst.[43]

Perhaps the only new vehicle for expressing the torment of death is the motif of putrifaction, which appears frequently in the tomb sculpture of the Black Death era.

The Complete Works of François Villon,
translated by Anthony Bonner (New York: David McKay, 1960,
41.
[42] *Ibid.,* 39.
[43] Huizinga, *Waning,* 132.

In *Death in the Middle Ages*, T.S.R. Boase attributes this gruesome obsesssion with decay to an "overdose" of the horrible death images which pervaded the entire Middle Ages. "The earlier Middle Ages had their fill of the horrors of damnation, and gradually the image lost its potency. The mind must in the end have developed resistance to such gruesome forbodings. . . . A more luxurious and sophisticated society concentrated on the physical corruption of their being."[44]

The earlier surviving effigies which express the Black Death mentality simply replace the usual lifelike image of the deceased with a rotting cadaver,[45] like the tombs of Francis I de la Serra (d. 1362), whose rotting face is devoured by hungry frogs. Later, infatuation with necrosis is expressed in the form of a sort of "double decker" table tomb[46] (Plate 3).

On the top level is what Panotsky calls, in *Tomb Sculpture*, the "representacion au vif," a lifelike depiction of the deceased complete with the usual earthly accoutrements for a journey to the afterlife, symbolic of the dead person's accomplishments here below. The lower level, "representacion de la mort," portrays the decomposing corpse,[47] often veiled by an eerie forest of arches which support the upper level. These sculptures seem to reveal the strange conflict between Northern Gothic symbolism and expressionism and the rising trend toward Renaissance naturalism, a conflict which characterized the late Gothic period, and without which the dramatic effect of the tombs would have

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[44] Boase, 106.

[45] Erwin Panofky, *Tomb Sculpture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1964), 64.

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] *Ibid.*, 56.

PLATE 3

Tomb of Bishop Fleming in Lincoln Cathedral.

been impossible.

The gripping contrast captured by the tombs is extremely evident in two famous examples: the tomb of Duchess of Suffolk at Ewelme[48] (Plate 4), and the tomb of Bishop Beckingham at Welles Cathedral (Plate 5).

One such memorial, the tomb of Jean Cardinal of Lagrange at Avignon, had so many levels that its uppermost story touched the ceiling of the church.[49] Today, only the bottom story survives, a disgusting reminder of human impermanence. The hideous figure which we see is as a body might appear while in the process of being 'boned,' the common medieval practice of stripping the flesh off a dead body. In his will, the Cardinal ordered that his 'bones' be buried in Avignon and his flesh at Amiens.[50]

These "double-deckers," which became popular around 1450, compose the majority of tomb sculptures which portray putrefaction.[51] However, whether the motif appears in a two-level tomb or in a one-level tomb, the moral is always the same, and is often expressed in inscriptions on the sculpture: "Wretch, why are you proud? You are nothing but ashes and will, like me, be the food of worms";[52] or, "In me behold the looking glass of life: such you will be, for I was what you are."[53]

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[48] Boase, 97.
[49] Panofky, 65.
[50] Boase, 100.
[51] Panofsky, 64.
[52] *Ibid.*
[53] *Ibid.*

PLATE 4

Tomb of the Duchess of Suffolk, at Ewelme.

PLATE 5

Tomb of Bishop Beckingham at Welles Cathedral.

III

In Italy, where art and literature of the second half of the fourteenth century are classified Early Renaissance, not Late Gothic, none of the motifs that have been discussed ever reached the popularity they achieved in Northern Europe. The Dance of Death, the grotesque effigies, and the poetry of the period all represent a self-centered interest in the consequences of death for humanity. In the sense that the authors of these art forms expressed the human, rather than the holy aspect of death, human self-image is degraded. In Southern Europe, the influences of the Black Death are expressed in less crude images. The artists do not deal so much with humankind's self-image, but with the image of God, an image frequently contemplated by a mind constantly bombarded with religion. The new perception of God seems to spring from the question: "What kind of a God could bring such hardship upon humanity?"

Central to medieval thought was the idea that, "the divine was manifested in the physical."[54] People of the Middle Ages expected to see God's will reflected in the events of the world. Indeed, such reasoning was used to justify the hierarchical structure of medieval society. As well, the same idea may be seen in the tomb sculpture of the High Middle Ages. Erwin Panofsky, in his book *Tomb Sculpture*, tells us that

> in the High Middle Ages, the funerary movement
> was expected to establish the status of the departed

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[54] Bowers, 6.

as terrestrial members of the City of God . . . (try-
ing) to represent them in such a way that their exis-
tence on earth appeared, to speak with the words of
St. Augustine himself, 'inextricably intermingled,'
with existence in heaven.[55]

Unfortunately, the world of the fourteenth century did
not seem to reflect the heavenly ideal. In a world so hos-
tile that no reason seemed sufficient to explain God's ac-
tions, people began to look upon "reason's ability to con-
firm religious truths" with "growing distrust."[56] Heretics
such as William of Ockham began to reject the idea that
God's mysterious intentions could be understood through
the physical world, and argued that God's will was "so
completely free that . . . God might damn a virtuous man
while saving a reprobate."[57] God's authority came to be
viewed as unrestricted and unsympathetic.

Orthodox thinkers, as well, began to portray God's au-
thority as absolute and undiscriminating. In battles against
heresy, it was in the interest of Fransiscans, Dominicans,
and other religious orders to depict God as autocratic and
impersonal, a fount of authority at the top of a ladder-like
hierarchy in which the Church was the second rung. In
the frescos of the Dominican built Spanish Chapel in Santa
Maria Novella at Florence, the artists depict Christ as so
divine that he is almost unapproachable. They also choose
subjects which stress the important role of the Church in
salvation.[58] To both the heretics and the orthodox, God's
personality obtains an unquestionable and unsympathetic
flavor. The Black Death, whether it caused people to feel

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[55] Panofsky, 54.

[56] Bowers, 5.

[57] *Ibid.,* 7.

[58] Meiss, 100-101.

that God had no sympathy for them, or whether it contributed to the heresy which the Mendicants sought to combat, played an important role in shaping that view.

How did fourteenth-century Italian artists express this image of an unsympathetic God? Millard Meiss, in *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, tells us that, like other artists who depicted the impact of the Black Death in their art, painters looked backward and not forward for a medium of expression.[59] Gothic art, largely "static and symbolic,"[60] placed little emphasis on depicting the subject as it really appeared. In the early part of the century, however, painters such as Cimabue and Giotto began to display an interest in naturalism. Anticipating the Renaissance, their paintings bespeak a new mindfulness of perspective, and reveal a greater variety of facial expression and body position. After the Black Death, however, a new generation of artists rejected the move toward naturalism and returned to the earlier Gothic tradition of painting. Once again, human subjects become rigid and unnatural, and the space surrounding them becomes shallow. "Every one of the young masters rejected, at least in part, Giotto's most easily imitable accomplishment(s)."[61]

The difference between Giotto's painting in the early part of the fourteenth century and painting after the Black Death can be seen in the comparison of the depiction of Hell in frescos;[62] Giotto's last judgement in the Arena Chapel, Padua, and the surviving portions of a similar frescoe at St. Croce in Florence. In the latter, painted after 1350 by

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[59] *Ibid.,* 44.

[60] Frederick Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1979), 40.

[61] Meiss, 6.

[62] *Ibid.,* 84.

an assistant of the renowned painter Orcagna, the viewer is confronted with a scene of human misery: a demon munches on the head of a damned woman (Plate 6).

On the other hand, Giotto's depiction of hell is much more sympathetic with the Renaissance. The regimented arrangement of the heavenly host and the countenance of the elect is contrasted with the disorder of hell, which issues forth in a fiery stream from Christ's feet. Although a large beast grasps at the condemned, the physical pain of hell is not greatly emphasized. Rather, the prevailing concept of hell is one of "chaos." Flying devils drag the souls of frantic survivers down into the pit. In some cases, angels and devils struggle for possession of a lost soul. Hell, for Giotto, is disorder.[63] Giotto provided the early fourteenth century with a glimpse of the Renaissance which was soon to be extinguished by the plague.

The difference between Italian painting in the early part of the fourteenth century and Italian painting after the Black Death can be seen in a comparison of two fourteenth-century Madonna's, one painted around 1330 by Pietro Lorenzitti[64] (Plate 7) and another by Nardo di Cione in 1356[65] (Plate 8).

In the earlier painting, note how the Virgin nurtures the Christ Child. She looks at the babe and their bodies are angled slightly inward, which gives some impression of perspective. The later Madonna represents a return to the Gothic tradition; her position is rigidly frontal and her gestures are static. She has no interaction with the Christ Child. Instead, she remains detached and stares complacently forward.

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[63] *Ibid.*

[64] Hartt, 116.

[65] Meiss, 41-42.

PLATE 6

Assistant of Orcagna, detail of *Hell.*

S. Croce, Florence

PLATE 7

Pietro Lorenzetti, *Madonna and Child.*

PLATE 8

Nardo di Cione, *Madonna.*

This characteristic of Nardo's Virgin is shared by nearly all divine personages in Italian painting of the period. Christ, as well, obtains a transcendant quality after the Black Death. On the altarpiece of the Strozzi Chapel of the Santa Maria Novella in Florence, finished around 1357 by Andrea Orcagna, Christ looks forward with a penetrating but expressionless gaze, a characteristic of many Christ portraits of the age (Plate 9).[66]

Like the Madonna, Christ's interaction with other persons in the painting has no personal significance, it is merely symbolic.

As well, Italian artists of the fourteenth century attempted to endow Christ and other divine beings with a sense of hierarchial superiority. "Whereas painters of the first half of the fourteenth century brought sacred figures to earth, painters of the second half of the century moved them upward again."[67] Both Orcagna's altarpiece and Nardo's Madonna illustrate this principle. No longer do the subjects sit enthroned, bound by gravity. Now they float on a higher plane than the figures around them, without visible means of support. The altarpiece was a major innovation of its time. Rejecting the naturalistic tendency to bring out the human qualities of Christ, Orcagna's Savior suspends himself in mid-air. The space around him is demarcated by guarding cherubs, which he transcends with inexorable authority as he rigidly hands the book and keys of Heaven to Saints Thomas and Peter.[68]

The intention to "magnify the realm of the divine while reducing that of the human"[69] after 1350 can also be seen in

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[66] *Ibid.*, 36.

[67] *Ibid.*, 41.

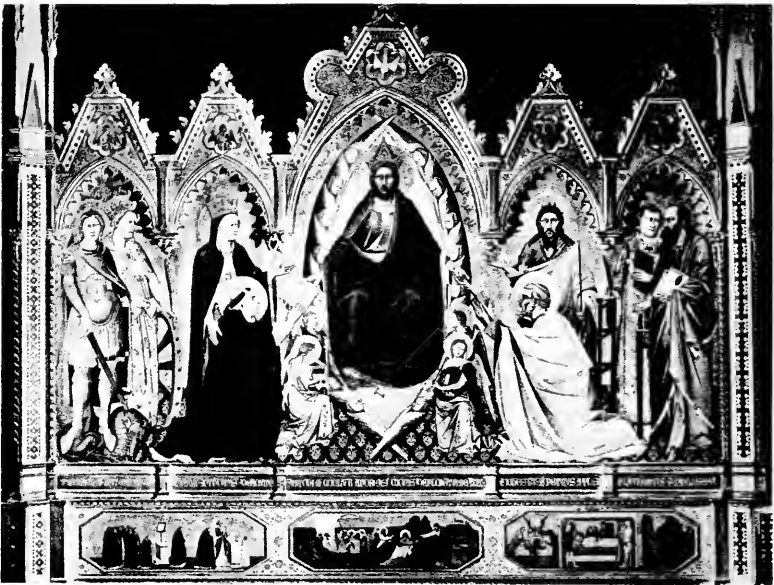[68] *Ibid.*, 10.

[69] *Ibid.*, 38.

PLATE 9

Orcagna, The Strozzi Alterpiece.

the frescos of the Spanish Chapel of Santa Maria Novella, painted by Andrea di Firenze around 1366. In the resurrection scene, Christ hovers far above the empty tomb (Plate 10).

This model, which broke drastically from the early fourteenth-century practice of showing Christ standing in or on the tomb, is the first of several representations of the resurrection as a passive rather than active event.[70]

The representation of Christ in Limbo, which appears in the large fresco below the resurrection, shows the same intent[71] (Plate 11).

Christ, engulfed in his own halo, floats toward Adam, his feet only barely touching the fallen portal. He extends his hand, but like Michelangelo's "Creation of Man" on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, the divine and the earthly do not touch. Here however, Christ does not extend his hand beyond the bounds of his holy aura; he is, perhaps, reluctant to reach beyond his exclusive space.

The frescos portraying the crucifixion also shows a somewhat different conception of the crucifixion than portrayals from the early part of the century. The death of Christ "is much less than in the first half of the century an occasion for the display of grief at the death of Christ, at his loss of humanity."[72] The crowd at the base of the cross looks upon the crucifixion in passive acceptance. Their emotion, signified by gestures such as clasped hands and crossed arms, is one of adoration. Even the Virgin Mary "looks upon her son in a mood of composed contemplation."[73] In keeping with the pre-Giotto Gothic tradition the

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[70] *Ibid.*, 39.

[71] *Ibid.*, 41.

[72] *Ibid.*, 97.

[73] *Ibid.*

PLATE 10

Andrea da Firenze, *Resurrection*.

PLATE 11

Andrea da Firenze, *Limbo*

crucifixion is a symbolic act;[74] it is, in the words of Meiss, a moment of "revelation, of sudden awareness of the divinity of Christ and the reality of redemption."[75] The countenance of the spectators may be significant in another way as well. Their emotionally uninvolved attitude reminds one of the words of Angelo di Tura, a Sienese chronicler of the plague: "No one went for the dead because everyone expected death himself."[76]

Although artists of the late fourteenth century looked backward to find expression for their ideas, the swelling tide of the Renaissance could not be held back for long. Near the turn of the century, artists rejected the inert Gothic style in favor of greater naturalism. However, expressions of the absolute and impersonal authority of God continued. *Trinity*, also at Santa Maria Novella and completed by Masaccio around 1428, shows a frontal and expressionless God the Father upholding the crucified Christ, who is still on the cross. Below, the other aspect of Black Death influence is shown. A grisly skeleton reminds the viewer that the almighty parcels out death as well as redemption.

IV

Finally, nearing the conclusion of this survey of Black Death influences, we cast our eyes upon the work of Giovanni Boccaccio and Geoffrey Chaucer, where the impact of the plague appears in still more subtle forms. The influence of the Black Death is expressed in the strong anti-clerical tone of the authors' works. In England, five thousand

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[74] Hartt, 39.

[75] Meiss, 97.

[76] *Ibid.,* 65.

beneficed clergymen died in one year of the Black Death.[77]
The mendicant orders, who built their houses in the distant
sections of the squalid towns, were likely hit even harder. In
some parishes, the Black Death was so severe that not one
priest survived to administer the sacraments. Candidates
to replace the priests were equally scarce. As well as being
wiped out by the plague, students were discouraged from
entering clerical orders by the fall in income experienced
by churchmen as a result of depopulation. Consequently,
the candidates who were initiated into holy orders were fre-
quently young and ignorant.

Although the formation of many religious groups in the
period indicate an increase in piety, many monastic orders
moved in the opposite direction. Due to the drastic reduc-
tion of their numbers, they suffered an irreversible relax-
ation of traditional discipline. "It must be believed that the
ravages and results of the pestilence were at least partially
responsible for the ecclesiastical abuses which led salvation-
ists to their frequent attacks on the clergy."[78]

Anti-clerical sentiment is expressed most visibly by
Chaucer and Boccaccio in their two most famous works,
The Canterbury Tales and the *Decameron*, which share sim-
ilar formats. In each case, a number of storytellers are
bound together by a common goal. In *Canterbury Tales*,
in which the principal actors embark on a pilgrimage to
Thomas Becket's shrine at Canterbury, Chaucer satirizes
the Church both through the portraits of the pilgrims and
through the tales they tell. In Boccaccio's *Decameron*, set
in 1348, ten young nobles escape the plague by retreat-

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[77] Thomas A. Knott and David C. Fowler, introduction to Piers
Plowman: *A Critical Edition of the A-Version* (Baltimore: Johns Hop-
kins Press, 1952), 50.
[78] *Ibid.*

ing together to their country villas, where, for entertainment, they swap stories, many of which involve members of religious orders. Boccaccio's satirical stories, in which the storytellers describe the sinful behavior of religious sect members, are neither pessimistic nor remorseful.[79] On the contrary, Boccaccio's works were condemned by his contemporaries because they seemed to encourage sinful behavior.[80] Over the next decade, however, Boccaccio seems to have become painfully aware of the grim world around him. In *The Corbaccio*, begun in 1354, the mood is gloomy, moralistic and invective. Boccaccio "turns upon love," the "central theme and value of all his earlier work, to degrade it; its motives become ignoble and its physical aspects revolting."[81] The sudden transformation of Boccaccio from sensual and conscience-free to moral and ascetic can be seen in a letter written to a friend in the same year. In the letter, he condemns the *Decameron* and advises that it be restricted from women, who might be enticed to enter into illicit sexual relationships.[82]

The development of art and literature take strikingly different turns after the midpoint of the fourteenth century.[83] Standing on the illusive threshold between the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, writers like Boccaccio and Chaucer seem to step forward, while the artists and sculptors of the same period seem to step momementarily backward, reluctant to enter a new age. Giotto was the champion artist of pioneer humanists such as Boccaccio; Giotto, he said, was the Petrarch of painting.[84] Petrarch

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[79] Meiss, 159.

[80] *Ibid.*, 161.

[81] *Ibid.*, 159.

[82] *Ibid.*, 161.

[83] *Ibid.*, 157.

[84] H. W. Janson, *History of Art: A Survey of the Major Visual Arts*

himself had said that the ignorant were incapable of understanding the value of the painter's work.[85] Perhaps, as Meiss suggests, the audience for such sophisticated art disappeared after the Black Death, the victim of the plague or economic demise, and were replaced by less tasteful substitutes.[86]

Although the Dance of Death, the poetry of Villon, the tomb sculpture, and Italian fresco art all look back in time to find a medium to express the cruelty of death, they also display the symptoms of a Renaissance on the verge of sprouting. Without the interest in naturalism which had been planted early in the fourteenth century, and without the sophistication of the early Renaissance, the crude notion of death communicated by tomb sculpture of the period would never have reached its full expressive power.[87] Did not the Dance of Death preach the same lesson of social equality that the longbow did during the Hundred Years War? And did not the new emphasis on God's absolute will which is represented in Italian painting ultimately result in the concept of salvation by grace?

Viewed as a whole, the art and literature of the period after the Black Death yields the impression of a separation of man from God. Humanity, concerned with the terrifying image of its own death, was earthbound, condemned to lament over its dying condition. Christ, lofty and terrible, appears as a detached autocrat, whose judgement is final and unquestionable. Guilty humanity was rejected by God, who withdrew from a world which was supposed to reflect

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from the Dawn of History to the Present Day (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1986), 371.

[85] Meiss, 71.

[86] *Ibid.,* 70.

[87] Huizinga, *Waning,* 127.

God's holy intentions;[88] the link between the divine and earthly was torn asunder. In the troubled era of the Black Death, people must have cried out to God for solace. Unfortunately, one had to wait until the Last Judgement for Abraham's comforting bosom; meanwhile, humanity rotted in the grave.

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Notes on Contributors

Bente Flatland, born in Porsgrunn, Norway, is a chemistry major here at 'Southern. She has worked as a zookeeper, and she plans to enter veterinary school after she graduates this spring. Bente also happens to be a classical guitarist.

Paul Garrison is graduating with a B.S. in psychology, which he says has moderated pleasantly between his disparate academic loves: literature and science. Paul plans to study neurobiology in Madrid this fall, returning next year to the United States to attend medical school.

Pamela Fink is an English/history double major who enjoys exploring the inter-relatedness of English and history (as she does in her essay entitled "The South and Ancient Israel"). After graduating, Pamela will pursue teaching, a career to which she feels has been "called by God."

Donna Tolliver is a graduating English/psychology double major. Harking from the Volunteer State of Tennessee, Donna enjoys outdoor activities, including rapelling and horseback riding. She also enjoys climbing trees.

David Higginbotham is a history major from Jackson, Mississippi, who plans to attend graduate school in economics. A talented choral performer, he has been a member of both the BSC Concert Choir and the Hilltop Singers. David owns a large, sky-blue '62 Chevy that he affectionately calls the "Mississippi Student Union."

John DeWitt is an alumn of the College. While a student at 'Southern, John edited *The Hilltop News* and contributed creative work to *Quad.* He now writes for the Anniston *Star.* He has a strong interest in Slavic culture and enjoys translating Russian poetry.

Mr. Billy Pennington
A-20